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Late FELLOW of *Lincoln-College*, OXFORD.

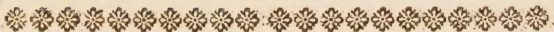
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BRISTOL:

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M.D.CC.LI.

A C T S
AND
MONUMENTS
OF THE
Christian Martyrs.



EXTRACTED FROM
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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

PERSECUTION of the People of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, in the Country of *Province*.

THIS People, about 200 Years ago, came out of the Country of *Piedmont* to inhabit in *Province*, in certain Villages, destroyed by Wars, and other desert Places. They used such Labour and Diligence there, that they had Abundance of Corn, Wine, Oil, Honey, Almonds, with other Fruits of the Earth, and much Cattle. Before they came thither, *Merindol* was a barren Desert. But these good People (in whom God always had reserved some Seed of Piety) remained there 'till the Desert, through the Blessing of God, and their great Labour, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding the World detested and abhorred them. For they had long refused the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority, and observed a more perfect Kind of Doctrine, delivered from the Father to the Son, ever since the Year 1200.

FOR this Cause they were often complained of to the King, as Despisers of the Magistrates, and Rebels. They were called by divers Names, according to the Countries and Place where they dwelt. In the Country about *Lyons*, they were called, *The poor People of Lyons*; in the Borders of *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, and other Countries towards the North, they were called *Lollards*. But they were most commonly called *Waldoys*, or *Waldenses*, of *Waldo*, who instructed them in the Word of GOD; which Name continued 'till the Name of *Lutherans* came up, which above all other was most abhorred.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Slanders, the People dwelling at the Foot of the *Alps*, and also in *Merindol*, and *Cabriers*, lived so godly, so uprightly, and justly, that in all their Conversation, there appeared a great Fear of GOD. That little Knowledge which GOD had given them, they laboured to encrease, sparing no Charge, to procure Books of Holy Scriptures, to instruct such as were most capable in Learning and Godliness; and to send them into other Countries, yea, even to the farthest Parts of the Earth, where they had heard that any Light of the Gospel began to shine.

IN the Year 1530, understanding that the Gospel was preached in certain Towns of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, they sent *George Maurelle*, and *Peter Latomus*, two learned Men, to confer with the wise and learned Ministers of the Churches there, to know the whole Form and Manner, which those Churches used in the Service of GOD; and particularly to have their Advice upon certain Points which they were not resolved in. After much Conference with the Chief in the Church of GOD, namely, with *Oecolampadius*, at *Basil*; with *Bucer* and *Capito*, at *Strasburg*; and with *Bartholdus Hallerus*, at *Bern*; as they were returning through
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Burgundy homeward, *Peter Latomus* was taken, and cast into Prison; *Maurelle* escaped, and returned to *Merindol*, with the Books and Letters which he brought from the Churches of *Germany*; and declared to his Brethren, how great Errors they were in, into which their old Ministers, whom they called *Barbes* (that is, Uncles) had brought them, leading them from the right Way of true Religion.

WHEN the People heard this, they were moved with such a Zeal, that they sent for the most ancient Brethren, and the Chief in Knowledge and Experience, of all *Calabria* and *Apulia* to consult with them touching the Reformation of the Church. This stirred up the Bishops, Priests, and Monks in all *Province*, with great Rage against them. Amongst other, there was one called *John de Roma*, who obtaining a Commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the *Waldos* or *Lutheran* Profession, ceased not to afflict the Faithful with all Kind of Cruelty that he could devise. Amongst other Torments, this was one which he most commonly practised; he filled Boots with boiling Grease, and put them upon their Legs, tying them backward to a Form, with their Legs hanging down over a small Fire. Thus he tormented very many, and in the End most cruelly put them to Death.

BUT he lived not long; for shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible Disease, unknown to any Physician. The Pains of his Body, were so extreme, that nothing could ease him one Minute. None of his Friends could come near him, so great was the Stench that came from him. His Body was full of Ulcers and Sores, and swarmed with Vermin, and so rotten, that the Flesh fell away from his Bones Peace-meal.

WHILST

WHILST he was in these Torments and Anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great Rage: *Oh! who will deliver me? Who will kill and rid me of these intollerable Pains, which I know I suffer for the Evils and Oppressions which I have done to those poor Men?* And he went about divers Times to destroy himself. In these horrible Torments and Despair, this Blasphemer and cruel Homicide miserably ended his Days, as a Spectacle to all Persecutors.

AFTER his Death, the Bishop of *Aix*, by his Official, *Peronet*, continued the Persecution, and put a great Multitude of them in Prison; of whom some by Torments revolted from the Truth; after he had condemn'd the others, they were put into the Hands of *Meiranus*, an ordinary Judge, who without any Form of Process, put them to Death, not without most cruel Torments.

SOON after, some *Merindolians*, to the Number of Ten, were cited to appear before the King's Attorney. But they, hearing that the Court had intended to burn them without any further Process, durst not appear at the Day appointed. For which Cause, the Court condemn'd all the Inhabitants of *Merindol* to be burned, both Men and Women, not even sparing the little Children and Infants; the Town moreover to be rased, and the Houses beaten to the Ground; also the Trees to be cut down, and nothing to be left, to the Intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a Desert or Wilderness.

THE Archbishop of *Arles*, the Bishop of *Aix*, and divers Abbots, Priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this Arrest might be executed.

IN this Assembly they made a general Agreement, confirmed with an Oath, That every Man should endeavour himself that it should be executed with all Expedition; every Man offering to furnish out Men of War, according to his Ability. The Charge of this Matter was given to the Bishop of *Aix*, and to the President of the Canons, to solicit, and persuade the Presidents and Counsellors of Parliament, by all Means possible, without Fear or Doubt, to execute the said Arrest.

THIS Conspiracy being concluded, the Bishop of *Aix* departed from *Avignon*, to go unto *Aix*, to perform his Charge. Notwithstanding they desired him to be the next Day at a Banquet which was to be at the House of the Bishop of *Rieux*. After they had dined, they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the Time 'till Supper.

As they passed thro' the Streets, every one leading his Minion upon his Arm, they saw a Man which sold lewd Pictures, with filthy Rhymes annexed to the same. All these goodly Pictures were bought up by the Bishops; which were as many as a Mule could well carry. As they walked along, there was a Bookseller who had set out to Sale certain Bibles in *French* and *Latin*; which, when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moved, and said unto him: *Darest thou set such Merchandize to sell here in this Town?* The Bookseller answer'd: *Is not the Holy Bible as good as these goodly Pictures, which you have bought?* At these Words the Bishop of *Aix* cried out: *I renounce my Part of Paradise, if this Fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken.* The Bookseller was immediately taken and carried to Prison, and spitefully handled. For those who waited upon the Prelates, began to cry out: *A Lutheran! a Lutheran! to the Fire, to the Fire with him!* Then one gave him a Blow with his Fist, another

another pulled him by the Hair, and others by the Beard, in such Manner that the poor Man was all mbrued with Blood before he came to Prison.

THE Morrow after he was brought before the Judges, in the Presence of the Bishops, where he was examined as followeth: Hast not thou set forth to Sale the Bible and the New Testament in *French*? The Prisoner answered that he had. And being demanded, Whether he knew not that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other Language than *Latin*? He answered: That he knew the contrary; and that he had sold many Bibles in the *French* Tongue, with the Emperor's Priviledge, and many others printed at *Lyons*; also New Testaments printed by the King's Privilege. Furthermore he said, That he knew no Nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the Holy Scripture in their vulgar Tongue: And afterward he said, with a bold Courage: O ye Inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in all Christendom those which despise and abhor the Testament of the Heavenly Father? Will ye forbid that which JESUS CHRIST hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do not you know that our LORD JESUS CHRIST gave Power unto his Apostles to speak all Manner of Tongues; to this End, that his Holy Gospel should be taught unto all Creatures, in every Language? What greater Blasphemy can there be, than to forbid GOD's most Holy Books, which he ordained to instruct the Ignorant, and to bring again into the Way such as are gone astray? What Cruelty is this, to take away from poor Souls their Nourishment and Sustenance? But, my Lords, you shall give an heavy Account, which call Sweet Sour, and Sour Sweet; which maintain abominable Books and Pictures, and reject that which is holy.

THEN

THEN the Bishop of *Aix*, and the other Bishops, began to rage and gnash their Teeth. What need you, said they, any more Examination? Let him be sent straight to the Fire. But the Judge, and certain others, were not of that Mind, neither found they sufficient Cause to put him to Death; but endeavour'd to make him confess the Bishop of *Aix*, and others his Companions, to be the true Pastors of the Church. The Bookseller answered: That he could not do it with a good Conscience; forasmuch as he did see before his Eyes, that these Bishops maintained filthy Books and abominable Pictures, rejecting the Holy Books of GOD; and therefore he judged them rather to be the Priests of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, than the true Pastors of the Church of CHRIST. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the Sentence was executed the same Day. And for a Sign of the Cause of his Condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his Neck, the one before, and the other behind. But this poor Man had also the Word of GOD in his Heart, and in his Mouth, and ceased not continually by the Way, 'till he came to the Place of Execution, to exhort the People to read the Holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the Truth.

THEN the Bishop of *Aix* returned to prosecute the Execution of the Arrest against *Merindol*. With great Difficulty he persuaded the President and Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, to put the said Arrest in Execution: And by this Means, thro' the Authority of the said Court, the Drum was sounded throughout all *Province*, the Captains were prepared with their Ensigns displayed, and a great Number of Foot-men and Horse-men began to set forward, and marched out of the Town of *Aix* in Order of Battle, to execute the Arrest. The Inhabitants of *Merindol* being advertised here-
of,

of, and seeing nothing but present Death, with great Lamentation commended their Cause unto GOD; making themselves ready to be slain, as Sheep led to the Slaughter.

WHILST they were in this grievous Distress, mourning and lamenting together, suddenly there was News brought, that the Army was retired, and no Man knew how, or by what Means; yet it was afterward known, that the Lord of *Alenc*, a wise Man, learned in the Scriptures, and in the Civil Law, being moved with great Zeal and Love of Justice, declared to the President *Cassanee*, That he ought not so to proceed against the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, contrary to all Form and Order of Justice, without Judgment or Condemnation. Furthermore he said: I desire you, my Lord President, to remember the Counsel, which you have written in your Book entituled, *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*; in which you have bro't forth the Proces-ses which were holden against the Rats by the Officers of the Court of the Bishop of *Authun*. This Matter was thus: There was throughout all the Bailiwick of *Laussois* such a great Number of Rats, that they destroyed all the Corn of the Country. Wherefore they took Counsel to send to the Bishop of *Authun's* Official to have the Rats excommunicated. After the Official had heard the Plaintiff, he decreed, That before he would proceed to Excommunication, the Rats should have Admonition according to the Order of Justice. For this Cause it was ordained, that by the Sound of a Trumpet, and open Proclamation made throughout all the Streets of *Authun*, the Rats should be cited to appear within three Days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them.

THE three Days were passed, and the Procurator came into the Court against the Rats, and for
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want of Appearance, obtained a Default, wherefore he required that they would proceed to the Excommunication. Whereupon it was acknowledged, that the said Rats, being absent, should have their Advocate appointed them to hear their Defence. And you, my Lord President, being at that Time the King's Advocate at *Authun*, was chosen to be the Advocate to defend the Rats. And having taken the Charge upon you, you there declared, in pleading the Matter, That the Citation was of no Effect, for certain Causes which you there alledged. Then it was decreed, That the said Rats should be again cited throughout the Parishes where they were. After the Citations were duly served, the Procurator came again into the Court as before, and there alledg'd, by you, my Lord President, That the Term allow'd for Appearance was too short, and that there were so many Cats in every Town and Village, that they were to pass through, that the Rats had just Cause to be absent. Wherefore, my Lord President, ought you not as well to minister Right and Justice to Men, as you have done to the Rats? By these, and such-like Demonstrations, the President was persuaded, and immediately called back his Commission, and caused the Army to retire, which was already within one Mile and a half of *Merindol*.

THE *Merindolians*, understanding that the Army was retired, gave Thanks to GOD, comforting one another, with Exhortation always to have the Fear of GOD before their Eyes, to be obedient to his holy Commandments, subject to his most holy Will, and every Man to submit himself to his Providence, patiently looking for the Hope of the Blessed, that is to say, the true Life, and the everlasting Riches, having always before their Eyes the Example of our LORD Jesus Christ, who hath entered into his Glory, by many Tribulations. Thus

they prepared themselves to endure all the Afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their Answer to all those that either pitied, or sought their Destruction. Whereupon the Noise was so great, as well of the Arrest, as of the Patience and Constancy of the *Merindolians*, that it was not kept secret from King *Francis*, who gave Orders to the Lord *de Langeay*, his Lieutenant in *Turin*, that he should diligently enquire into the Truth of all this Matter. Monsieur *de Langeay* upon this, sent two Men of Credit and Estimation, into *Province*, charging them to bring him the Copy of the Arrest, and enquire all that followed thereupon; and likewise to make diligent Inquisition into the Life and Manners of the *Merindolians*.

THESE Deputies brought the Copy of the Arrest, and an Account of all that happened thereupon to Monsieur *de Langeay*, declaring unto him the great Injuries, Tyrannies, and Cruelties, which the Judges, as well Secular as Ecclesiastical, used against the *Merindolians*. As to the Behaviour of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most Part of the Men of *Province* affirmed them to be Men enured to hard Labour; and that about 200 Years ago, they came out of *Piedmont* to dwell in *Province*, and took to inhabit many Hamlets and Villages destroyed by the Wars, and other desert Places; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great Store of Wines, Oil, Honey, and Cattle, wherewith Strangers were greatly relieved. Moreover, they affirmed, That the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet People, Men of good Behaviour, constant in keeping their Promise, and paying their Debts: That they were charitable Men, giving Alms, relieving the Poor, and suffered none amongst them to be in Necessity. Also they gave
Alms

Alms to Strangers, and to poor Travellers, harbouring, and helping them in all their Necessities, according to their Power: Moreover, they were known by this, throughout all the Country, that they would not swear, nor name the Devil, or easily be brought to take an Oath, except it were in Judgment, or making some solemn Covenant; That they could never be moved to talk of any dishonest Matters, but in what Company soever they came, where they heard any wanton Talk, Swearing or Blasphemy, they straitway departed out of that Company. Also they said, That they never saw them go to their Business, but first they made their Prayers. But the People of *Province* further affirmed, That when they came to any Fairs or Markets, or to their Cities, they were never seen in their Churches; and if they were, they turned away their Faces from the Images: Neither would they worship the Reliques of Saints, nor once look upon them.

THIS was the Tenor of the Report made unto Monsieur *de Langeay*, touching the Life and Behaviour of the Inhabitants of *Merindol*. Of all these Things Monsieur *de Langeay* advertised the King; who understanding these Things, sent Letters of Pardon, not only for those who were condemned for Lack of Appearance, but also for all the rest of the Country of *Province*, which were accused and suspected in like Case; expressly commanding the Parliament, That they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this People: But if there were any that could be proved, to have swerved from the Christian Religion, then he should have good Demonstration made to him by the Word of GOD, both out of the Old and New Testament; and so, as well by the Gentleness, as of the Rigour of the same, he should be reduced again unto the Church of Christ:

Disannulling also all Manner of Sentences and Condemnations, and commanding all Prisoners to be set at Liberty, which were either accused or suspected of *Lutheranism*.

By Virtue of these Letters they were now permitted to declare their Cause, and to say what they could in Defence thereof. Whereupon they made a Confession of their Faith. This Confession was presented first to the Court of Parliament; and afterward to Cardinal *Sadolet*, with a Supplication to this Effect: That the Inhabitants of *Cabriers* in the Country of *Venice* most humbly desired that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the Confession of their Faith and Doctrine, wherein they, and their Forefathers, had been of a long Time instructed, and which they were perswaded was agreeable to the Doctrine contain'd in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the Holy Scriptures, they desired him to mark such Articles, as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it appear to them, that there were any such Articles, they would not only submit to abjure, but also to suffer such Punishment as should be adjudged unto them. To this Request Cardinal *Sadolet* answered by Letters written by his Secretary, and signed with his own Hand, the Tenour whereof here ensueth.

I Have seen your Request, and have read the Articles of your Confession, wherein there is much Matter contained; and do not understand, that you are accused for any other Doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers Things of you, which, after Enquiry made, we have found to be Slanders. As touching the rest of your Articles, it seemeth to me, that there are many Words therein, which might well be changed, without Prejudice to your Confession. And
likewise

likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary, that you should speak so manifestly against the Pastors of the Church. For my Part, I desire your Welfare, and would be sorry that you should be spoiled or destroyed. And to the End you may the better understand my Friendship towards you, I shall shortly be at my House near Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me, either in greater or smaller Numbers, as you will, and return safely without any Hurt or Damage; and there I will advertise you of all Things that I think meet for your Profit and Health.

ABOUT this Time, which was the Year 1542, the Vice-Legate of *Avignon*, assembled a great Number of Men of War, at the Suit of the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, to destroy *Cabriers*. When the Army was come within a Mile of *Cabriers*, Cardinal *Sadolet* went with Speed to the Vice-Legate, and shewed him the Request of the Inhabitants, with the Articles of their Confession; so that for the present the Army retired, without doing them any Damage. After this Cardinal *Sadolet* went to *Rome*; but before his Departure, he sent for divers of *Cabriers*, and told them, That he would remember them as soon as he came to *Rome*, and communicate their Confession to the Cardinals, trusting to find Means to have some good Reformation, that GOD should be glorified, and all Christendom brought to Unity and Concord; advertising them, in the mean Time, to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for they had many Enemies. With this, they of *Cabriers* were greatly comforted, trusting, that at the Suit of Cardinal *Sadolet*, they should have an Answer to their Confession. But at his Return they understood that he found all Things so corrupt at *Rome*, that there was no Hope of any Reformation there; but rather mortal War against all such as would not live according to the Ordinances of that Church.

ON the other Hand, the Bishop of *Aix* and *Cavaillon* prosecuted still the Execution of the Arrest of *Merindol*. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, That, according to the King's Letters, *John Durand*, Counsellor of the Court of Parliament, with a Secretary, and the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, should go to *Merindol*, and there declare to the Inhabitants the Heresies contain'd in their Confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient Information; and having so convicted them by the Word of GOD, they should make them renounce those Heresies; and, if the *Merindolians* should refuse, then they should make Relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they should proceed. The Bishop of *Cavaillon* would not tarry 'till the Time appointed; but he himself, with a Doctor of Divinity, came to *Merindol*, to make them abjure. They required, that he would tell them what they should abjure. The Bishop answered: He required a general Abjuration of all Errors, which would be no Prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like Abjuration. The *Merindolians* answered him again: That they would do nothing contrary to the King's Letters, wherein he commanded, That the Errors should be first declared to them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those Errors were, that being inform'd thereof, by the Word of GOD, they might satisfy the King's Letters; otherwise it were but Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, to do as he required.

THEN the Bishop of *Cavaillon* was marvellously angry, and would hear no Word spoken of any Demonstration to be made by the Word of GOD, but, in a Fury, cursed and gave him to the Devil, that first invented that Means. At length, he departed,

parted, being very sore aggrieved that he could not bring his Purpose to pass.

SHORTLY after, the Bishop came again to *Merindol*, and calling before him the Children both great and small, gave them Money, and commanded them to learn the *Pater-noster* and the *Creed* in *Latin*. The most Part of them answer'd, That they knew the *Pater-noster* and the *Creed* already in *Latin*, but they could not understand it. The Bishop answer'd, That it was not necessary they should be so *cunning*; it was sufficient that they knew it in *Latin*; and that it was not requisite for their Salvation, to understand the Articles of their Faith: for there were many Bishops, Curates, yea, and Doctors of Divinity, who would be puzzled to expound the *Pater-noster* and the *Creed*. Here the Bailiff of *Merindol*, named *Andrew Maynard*, asked, To what Purpose is it to say the *Pater-noster* and the *Creed*, and not to understand them? in so doing, we should but mock GOD. Then said the Bishop unto him, Do you understand what is signified by these Words, *I believe in GOD*? The Bailiff answer'd, I should think myself very miserable, if I did not: and then he began to give an Account of his Faith. Then said the Bishop, I could not have thought there had been so great Doctors in *Merindol*. The Bailiff answer'd, The least of the Inhabitants of *Merindol* can do it more ready than I. I pray you, examine one or two of these young Children, that you may understand whether they are well taught or no. But the Bishop either knew not how to examine them, or at least would not.

THEN one said: Sir, one of these Children may question with another, if you think good. The Bishop agreed to it. Then one of the Children began to examine his Fellows with such Grace and Gravity,

Gravity, as if he had been a Schoolmaster; and the Children, one after another, answered so to the Purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the Presence of many, among whom there were four religious Men, that came lately out of *Paris*; one of whom said to the Bishop: I must needs confess, that I have often been at the Schools of *Sorbon* in *Paris*, where I have heard the Disputations of the Divines; but yet I never learned so much there as I have done by hearing these *Children*.

WHEN the Bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another Way. He caused the Strangers to go a-part, and said: That he now perceived they were not so bad, as many thought them to be; notwithstanding it was necessary that they should make some Abjuration, which only the Bailiff, with two Officers, might make in the Name of the rest.

THE Bailiff, and the two Officers answered: That they were fully resolved not to abjure at all, except they could make it appear, by the Word of GOD, That they had holden or maintained any Heresy; marvelling much, that he should offer to persuade them to lye to GOD and the World. The Bishop then rose up in great Wrath, and departed.

MANY came to hear these Disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly Demonstrations from the Bishop and the Doctor, that was with him, but were greatly abashed to see them so confounded. This afterward turned to the great Benefit of many: For hereby they were incited to require Copies of the *Merindolians* Confession of their Faith; whereby they were converted, and embraced the Truth. Three Doctors, who several Times attempted to dissuade the *Merindolians* from their Faith,

Faith, were thus converted; whose Ministry God afterwards used in the Preaching of his Gospel.

AFTER this, the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were in Quietness for a Space, insomuch that every Man feared to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them, received nothing but Shame and Confusion; as manifestly appeared not only by the sudden Death of the President *Chassanee*, but also of many others of the cheif Counsellors of the Parliament of *Province*.

THUS the LORD repressing the Rage of the Adversaries for a Time, stayed the Execution of that cruel Sentence, 'till *John Miniers*, began a new Persecution. He, being Lord of *Opede*, near *Merindol*, first began to vex the Poor, by Oppression and Extortion; getting from them what he could to enlarge his Lordship. By such Practices he was advanced in a short Time to great Wealth, and at length became not only the chief President of the High Court of Parliament, but also the King's Lieutenant-General in the Country of *Province*. This *Miniers* forged a most impudent Lye, making the King to believe, that they of *Merindol*, and all the Country near about, to the Number of 12. or 15,000, were in the Field in Armour, with their Ensigns displayed, intending to take the Town of *Marseilles*, and make it one of the Cantons of the *Switzers*; and to stay this Enterprize, he said: It was necessary to execute the Arrest. By this Means he obtained the King's Letters Patents, commanding the Sentence to be executed against the *Merindolians*.

AFTER this he gathered all the King's Army, which was then in *Province*, ready to go against the *English*, and took up all besides, that were able to bear Arms, in the chief Towns of *Province*, and
joined

joined them with the Army, which the Pope's Legate had levied for that Purpose in *Avignon*, and all the Country of *Venice*, and employed the same to destroy *Merindol*, *Cabriers*, and 22 other Towns and Villages; giving Commission to his Soldiers, to spoil, ranfack, burn, and destroy all together, and to kill Man, Woman and Child, without Mercy, sparing none.

MINIERS, before he came to *Merindol*, ranfack'd and burned the Towns of *La Roch*, *St. Stephen's*, *Ville Laure*, *Lormarin*, *La Motte*, *St. Martin*, *Pipin*, and other Places; notwithstanding the Arrest extended only to *Merindol*: Where the most of the poor Inhabitants were murdered without any Resistance; Women and Maidens ravished; Women with Child, and little Infants born and in the Womb, were also most cruelly murdered; the Paps of many Women cut off, who gave Suck to their Children, which looking for Nourishment at their Mother's Breast, died for Hunger.

THE *Merindolians* seeing all in a flaming Fire round about them, left their Houses, and fled into the Woods, and remained all that Night at the Village *Sanfales*, in great Fear and Perplexity; for the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome's* Legate, had appointed certain Captains to go and slay them. The next Day they went further, hiding themselves in Woods, for there was Danger on every Side, and *Miniers* had commanded, under Pain of Death, that no Man should aid them by any Means. The same Proclamation was of Force also in the Bishop of *Rome's* Dominions. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful Journey, carrying their Children upon their Shoulders, and in their Arms, and in their Swaddling-cloths; and among them who took this Pains, were many Women big with Child. When they were come

to the Place appointed, a great Number, which had lost their Goods, and saved themselves by Flight, was already resorted thither.

NOT long after it was told them, that *Miniers* was coming upon them with all his Power. This was in the Evening; and because they were to go through rough Places, and hard to pass, they all thought it most expedient to leave all the Women and Children behind them, with a few others; and among them also certain Ministers. The Residue were appointed to go to *Mussi*. They hoped that the Enemy would shew Mercy to the Multitude of Women and Children, being destitute of all Succour. But no Tongue can express what Sorrow, what Tears, what Sighing, what Lamentation there was at that woful Parting, when the Husband was compelled to separate from his dear Wife, the Father from his Infants; the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the the Ministers had ended their ordinary Sermons, with Evening-Prayers and Exhortations, the Men departed that Night, to avoid a greater Inconvenience.

WHEN they had travelled all Night, and had passed over the great Hill of *Libron*, they could see many Villages and Farms on Fire. *Miniers*, in the mean Time, had divided his Army into two Parts, marching himself with the one towards the Town of *Merindol*; and having Knowledge whither the *Merindolians* were fled, he sent the other Part to set upon them. Yet before they came to the Place, some of *Miniers* Army, either out of good Will, or moved with Pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came to them, to give them Warning, that their Enemies were coming; and one of them, from the Top of an high Rock, beneath which he thought the *Merindolians* were, cast
down

down two Stones, and afterward, altho' he could not see them, called to them, that they should immediately flee from thence. But the Enemy suddenly came upon them, finding them all assembled together at Prayers, and spoiled them of all they had, even to their Garments. Some they ravished, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold like Cattle, practising what Cruelty and Villainy soever they could devise against them. There were about 500 Women.

IN the mean Time *Miniers* came to *Merindol*, where he found none but a young Man named *Maurice Blane*, who had yielded himself to a Soldier, promising him for his Ransom two French Crowns. *Miniers* would have had him away by Force; but it was answered, That the Soldier ought not to lose his Prisoner. *Miniers* therefore paying the two Crowns himself, took the young Man, and caused him to be tied to an Olive Tree, and shot to Death. Many Gentlemen who accompanied *Miners* against their Will, seeing this Spectacle, could not forbear Tears. For tho' this young Man was not yet well instructed, yet in all his Torments, he always had his Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and ceased not, with a loud Voice, to call upon GOD. The last Words that he spake were these: LORD GOD, *these Men take away my Life full of Misery; but Thou wilt give unto me Life everlasting, by thy Son JESUS CHRIST, to whom be Glory.* Thus *Merindol*, without any Resistance, was taken, ransacked, burnt, and laid even with the Ground.

WHEN he had destroy'd *Merindol*, he laid Siege to *Cabriers*, and battered it with his Ordnance; but when he could not win it by Force, he, with the Lord of the Town, persuaded the Inhabitants to open their Gates, solemnly promising, that if they
would,

would, no Violence or Injuiury should be done them. Upon this they opened their Gates, and let in *Miniers*, with his Captains, and all his Army. But when he was once enter'd, he picked out about thirty Men, causing them to be bound, and hewn in Pieces by his Soldiers.

THEN he exercised his Fury upon poor Women, and caused forty of them to be taken, (of whom divers were great with Child) and put them in a Barn full of Straw, and caused it to be set on Fire at four Corners; and when the Women, running to the great Window would have leaped out, they were kept in with Pikes and Halberds. A Soldier, moved with Pity at the Crying and Lamentation of the Women, opened a Door to let them out; but as they were coming out, *Miniers* caused them to be cut in Pieces, opening their Bellies that their Children fell out, whom they trod under their Feet. Many had fled into the Wine-cellar of the Castle, and many hid themselves in Caves, whereof some were carried into a Meadow, and there stript naked and slain: Others were bound two and two, and carried into the Hall of the Castle, where they were slain by the Captains.

THAT done, *Miniers* commanded Captain *John de Gay* to go into the Church, (where was a great Number of Women, and young Infants) and kill all that he found there. At first the Captain refused to do it, saying: *That were a Cruelty unused among Men of War.* Whereat he charged him upon Pain of Rebellion and Disobedience to the King, to do as he commanded him. The Captain fearing what might ensue, enter'd with his Men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

MEAN while certain Soldiers went to ranfack the Houses, where they found many poor Men that had hid themselves in Cellars, and other privy Places, and flying upon them, cry'd out, *Kill, Kill*. The other Soldiers that were without the Town, killed all they could meet with. The Number of those that were thus murder'd, were about a Thousand Men, Women, and Children.

IN Token of this Victory, the Pope's Officers caused a Pillar to be erected in *Cabriers*, in which was engraven the Year and Day of the Taking and Sacking of this Town, by *John Miniers*, Lord of *Opede*, and chief President of the Parliament of *Province*, which was *April 12, 1545*.

MEAN while the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and other Places thereabout, were among the Mountains and Rocks, in great Necessity of Victuals, and much Affliction. At last they procured certain Men, who were in some Favour with *Miniers*, to make Request for them, that they might depart whither it should please God to lead them, with their Wives and Children. *Miniers* answered: *I know what I have to do. Not one of them shall escape my Hands. I will send them to Hell, to dwell among Devils.*

IT were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable Examples of this cruel Persecution. No Kind of Tyranny was unpractised. They, who escaped by Woods, and wandered over Mountains, were taken and set in Gallies, or else slain outright. And of many which hid themselves in Rocks and dark Caves, some were famished with Hunger, others were smothered with Fire and Smoke.

BUT *Henry* the Second of *France*, who succeeded *Francis*, considering how this cruel and infamous

mous Persecution was greatly disliked of other Princes, and also objected both against him and his Father, by the Emperor himself, *Charles V.* and that, in a publick Council of all the States of *Germany*; to purge himself thereof, caused the Matter to be brought into the Court of *Paris*, and there to be decided by Order of Justice.

THIS Cause was pleaded many Times, but could never be determined; and so was passed over. And *Miniers*, (who had for some Time been confined) was also loosed out of Prison, and restored to his Liberty and Possessions again, upon his promising the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, that he would banish and expell these new Christians (so he termed the true Professors of the Gospel) out of all *Province*.

MINIERS then began to exercise greater Cruelty than before, and did not cease, before the just Judgment of GOD brought him by a horrible Disease to the Torments of Death. For being stricken with a strange Kind of Bleeding, in Manner of a Bloody-Flux, and not being able to avoid any Urine, his Guts, by little and little, rotted within him. When no Remedy could be found, and his Intrails now began to be eaten of Worms, a famous Surgeon, named *La Mote*, who dwelt at *Arles*, was called; who (after he had cured him of the Difficulty of making Water, and therefore was in great Estimation with him) would not proceed further to search the other Parts of his putrefied Body, 'till he had caused those that were present to depart a little. When they were gone, he began to exhort him with earnest Words, saying: *The Time now requires that you should ask Forgiveness of GOD, for your enormous Cruelty, in shedding so much innocent Blood, which is the Cause of this so strange a Profusion of Blood coming from you.*

THESE Words so pierced the Conscience of this miserable Wretch, that he was therewith more troubled, than with the Agony of his Disease; in-somuch, that he cried out to lay Hand upon the Surgeon, as an Heretick. *La Mote* hearing this, conveyed himself out of Sight, and returned again to *Arles*. Notwithstanding, it was not long before he was sent for again; being intreated by his Friends, and promised most firmly, that he should come without any Danger, with much ado he return'd again; but all was now past Remedy: And so *Miniers* raging and casting out horrible and blaspheming Words, and feeling a Fire, which burnt him from his Navel upward, with extreme Stench of the Lower Parts, finished his wretched Life.

MOREOVER, the Justice of God is not to be forgotten, which followed upon others, who were the chief Actors in this Persecution; as *Lewis de Vaine*, Brother-in-Law to the said President, and also the Brother and the Son-in-Law to *Peter Durant*, Master-Butcher of the Town of *Aix*; which three slew one another, upon a certain Strife that fell among them. And upon the same Day the Judge of *Aix* as he returned homeward, going over the River *Durance*, was drowned.

It is to be observed, That these Inhabitants of *Province*, and other Coasts of *France* and *Piedmont*, received their Doctrine first from the *Waldenses*; being, by Violence of Persecution driven out of *Lions*, who were dispers'd abroad in divers Countries; of whom some fled to *Germany*, some to *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, *Bohemia*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, divers stray'd to the Countries of *France*, especially about *Province* and *Piedmont*. They which were in the Country of *Tholouse*, were called *Albii*, or *Albigenses*, of the Place where they frequented. Against the *Albigenses*, Frier *Dominick* labour'd ten Years together

together; and caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the *Apostolical* Court.

THESE *Albigenses* had set up a Bishop of their own, remaining about the Coasts of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*. Upon this Account, the See of *Rome* took great Indignation against them, and caused all their faithful Catholicks, to rise up in Arms, and take the Sign of the Holy Cross upon them, and to fight against them. In the Year 1206, great Multitudes of them were then murder'd, not only about *Tholouse* and *Avignon* in *France*, but also in all Quarters, miserable Slaughters and Burnings of them continued long, from the Reign of *Frederick II.* almost to this present Time.





T H E
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

PERSECUTIONS and WARS against the
Waldenses, in the Vallies of *Angrogne*,
Lucerne, *S. Martin*, *Perouse*, and else-
where, in the County of *Piedmont*,
from the Year 1555, to 1561.

WHEN the *Waldenses* divided themselves
into divers Countries, some went to *Pied-*
mont, and the Valley of *Angrogne*. These
Men, by long Persecution, being driven from Place
to Place, were grievously afflicted, but yet could
never be utterly destroyed, nor compelled to yield
to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; but ever
abstained from their Corruption and Idolatry, and
gave themselves to the Word of GOD, as a Rule
truly to serve Him.

IN the Month of *August*, 1555, the Gospel was
openly preached in *Angrogne*. The Ministers and
People intended at first to keep themselves still se-
cret; but there was such Concourse of People from
all

all Parts, that they were compelled to preach openly. For this Cause they built a Church in the Midst of *Angrogne*, where Assemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It happened about that Time, that one *John Martin*, of *Briqueras*, a Mile from *Angrogne*, who vaunted every where, that he would slit the Nose of the Minister of *Angrogne*, but he himself was assaulted by a Wolf, which bit off his Nose, so that he died thereof mad.

AT this Season, the *French King* held these Valleys, and they were under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Turin*. The same Time also they began openly to preach in *Lucerne*.

IN *March*, 1556, the Ministers of the Valley of *St. Martin* preached openly. The Parliament, being sorely incensed, sent one called the President of *St. Julian*, to hinder it. He coming first to the Valley of *Perouse*, where no Preachers were yet come, very much troubled the poor People.

FROM thence they went to the Valley of *St. Martin*, tormenting the poor People, and threatening their utter Destruction. After that they came to *Lucerne*, and thence to *Angrogne*, accompanied with many Gentlemen, and a great Rabble of Priests. But by the Way, the President enquired for one who dwelt at *St. John's*, near to *Angrogne*, and examined him, Whether he had not baptized his Child at *Angrogne*? And wherefore he had so done? The poor Man answered: That he had baptized his Child at *Angrogne*, because Baptism was there ministred according to the Institution of Christ. Then the President in great Rage, commanded him in the King's Name, to baptize his Child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor Man desired the President that he might be
suffered

suffered to make his Prayer to GOD, before he should make Answer. Which after he had done, in the Hall, before all the Company there present, he required the President that he would write, and sign the same with his own Hand, that he would discharge him before GOD, of the Danger of that Offence, if he should baptize his Child again. The President hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one Word a good while after. Then said he, in a great Fury: *Away thou Villain out of my Sight.* And after that he was never called more.

AFTER they were come to *Angrogne*, the President, having visited the two Churches, caused a Monk to preach in the one, the People being there assembled. As soon as he had ended his Sermon, the People requested, that their Minister might be suffered to preach, affirming, That the said Monk had spoken many Things, which were not according to the Word of GOD. But the President would not grant their Request. After that he admonish'd them, in the Name of the King, that they should return to the Obedience of the Pope, upon Pain of Loss of Goods and Life. The Ministers and People answer'd: *That they were determin'd to live according to the Word of GOD, and that they would obey the King and all their Superiors in all Things, so that GOD thereby would not be displeased. And furthermore, if it were shewed to them by the Word of GOD, that they erred in any Point of Religion, they were ready to receive Correction, and to be reformed.* This Talk endured about six Hours, even 'till Night. In the End, the President said, there should be a Disputation appointed for those Matters. Whereunto the People gladly agreed. But after that there was no more Mention thereof.

HE remained here fourteen Days, daily practising new Devices to vex and torment them, causing

ing Assemblies to be made in every Parish; by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the People. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed: but still they continued constant. Insomuch that they with one Accord presented a brief Confession of their Faith, with an Answer to certain Interrogatories, propounded by the President, concerning the Mass, Auricular Confession, Baptism, and Burials.

To the First they answered, “ That they received the LORD’S-Supper, as it was instituted by Christ Himself; but as for the Mass, except the same could be proved by the Word of GOD, they would not receive it.

As touching Auricular Confession, they said: They confessed themselves daily to GOD, acknowledging themselves before Him to be miserable Sinners, desiring of Him Pardon and Forgiveness of their Sin, as Christ instructed his Disciples in the Prayer, which he taught them: And seeing it is GOD alone which forgiveth Sins; therefore they were bound to confess themselves to Him only, and to no other.

As to Baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy Institution of Christ, and administered the same with all Simplicity, as he ordained it in his Holy Gospel, without any Alteration, and that in their Mother Tongue; but as for their Conjurations, Oiling, and Salting, they would not receive them.

As touching Burials, they answered: That they knew there was Difference between the Bodies of the true Christians and the Infidels, forasmuch as the first are the Members of Jesus Christ, Temples of the Holy Ghost, and Partakers of the glorious

rious Resurrection of the Dead; and therefore they accustomed to follow their Dead to the Grave reverently, with a sufficient Company, and Exhortation out of the Word of GOD; as well to comfort the Friends of the Dead, as to admonish all Men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of Candles or Lights, and praying for the Dead, they would not receive them.

MOREOVER, as to Men's Traditions, they received and allowed all those Ordinances which (as *St. Paul* saith) serve for Order, Decency, and Reverence of the Ministry. But as for other Ceremonies, which have been brought into the Church of GOD, as Essential Parts of Divine Service, or to merit Remission of Sins, or else to bind Men's Consciences, because they are repugnant to the Word of GOD, they could by no Means receive them.

THE President, and the rest of the Commissioners, perceiving they laboured in vain, returned to *Turin*, with the Notes of their Proceedings; which were immediately sent to the King's Court, and there the Matter remained a Year before there was any Answer. All this Time the *Waldos* liv'd in great Quietness; as GOD, of his infinite Goodness, is wont to give some Comfort and Refreshing to his poor Servants, after long Troubles and Afflictions. The Number of the Faithful so augmented, that throughout the Vallies GOD's Word was purely preached, and his Sacraments duly administred, and no Mass was sung at *Angrogne*, nor in divers other Places. The Year after, the President of *St. Julian*, with his Associates, returned to *Pignerol*, and sent for the chief Rulers of *Angrogne*, and of the Valley of *Lucerne*, (six of *Angrogne*, and two of every Parish besides) and shewed them, that the last Year they had presented
their

their Confession, which, by a Decree made by the Parliament of *Turin*, was sent to the King's Court, and there diligently examined by learned Men, and condemn'd as heretical. Therefore the King commanded them to return to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*, upon Pain of Loss, both of Goods and Life; enjoining them to give him a direct Answer, within three Days. From thence he went to *Lucerne*, with great Threatnings; but they with one Consent persisted in their former Confession. And lest they should seem stubborn in the Defence of any erroneous Doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the Universities of Christendom, and if the same, in any Part, were disproved by the Word of God, it should immediately be amended; but otherwise, if that were not done, then they should be no more disquieted.

A LITTLE while after Proclamation was made in every Place, That no Man should receive any Preacher coming from *Geneva*, but only such as were appointed by the Archbishop of *Turin*, upon Pain of Confiscation of their Goods, and Loss of their Lives, and that every one should observe the Ceremonies, Rites, and Religion used in the Church of *Rome*. Furthermore, if any of the Preachers of *Geneva* came, that they should be immediately apprehended.

At the same Time the Princes of *Germany*, and certain of the *Switzers*, sent unto the *French* King, desiring him to have Pity on the said Churches; and from that Time, until three Years after, the People of the Vallies were not molested by any of the King's Officers; but they were sorely vexed by the Monks of *Pignerol*, and the Gentlemen of the Valley of *St. Martin*.

ABOUT that Time a Minister of *Angrogne*, named *Geoffry Variallia*, a virtuous and learned Man, went to visit certain Churches in those Quarters where he was born, and coming home was taken at *Berge*, and led to *Turin*, where, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, to the Confirmation of many, and to the Terror of his Adversaries, he most constantly suffered.

A FEW Days after a Minister of the Valley of *Lucerne*, returning to *Geneva*, was taken Prisoner at *Suse*, and sent to *Turin*, and with an invincible Constancy made his Confession before the Parliament, and was condemned to be burnt. The Hangman, at the Time of Execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so convey'd himself away. And so likewise another served them. Whereupon the Minister was sent to Prison again, where after a long and painful Confinement, seeing the Prison Door open, he escaped, and returned to his Cure.

THE Year following, which was 1559, there was a Peace concluded between the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*. Whereupon the Country of *Piedmont* (certain Towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of *Savoy*; under whom the said Churches, and all other faithful People in *Piedmont*, continued in great Quietness; and the Duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their Religion, knowing that he had no Subjects more faithful and obedient. But the Pope and Cardinals, seeing the good Inclination of the Duke towards this People, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not; alledging, That he could not suffer such a People to dwell within his Dominion, without Dishonour to the Apostolick See.

UPON this, in the Month of *March* following, there was a great Persecution against the poor Chri-

Christians, which were at *Carignan*. Amongst whom there were certain Persons taken, and burnt within four Days. One named *Mathurine*, and his Wife, and *John de Carquignam*, who dwelt in the Valley of *Lucerne*. The Woman died with great Constancy. *John de Carquignam*, had been in Prison divers Times before, and was always delivered by GOD's singular Providence. But seeing himself taken this last Time, he said: *He knew that GOD had now called him*. Both by the Way as he went, and in Prison, and also at his Death, he shewed an invincible Constancy, as well by the pure Confession which he made, as in suffering with Patience the horrible Torments which he endured, both in Prison, and also at his Death. Many at that Time fled away; others, fearing Man more than GOD, consented to return to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

WITHIN a few Days after, the Churches of *Le Larch*, *Meronne*, *Meane*, and *Suse*, were wonderfully assaulted. It were too long to recite all the Outrage and Villainy that was there committed: We will recite only some of the principal and best known. The Churches of *Meane* and *Suse* suffered great Affliction. Their Minister was taken among others. Many fled away, and their Houses and Goods were ransack'd. The Minister was a faithful Servant of GOD, and endued with excellent Gifts and Graces, who in the End was put to a most cruel Death. The Patience he shewed in the Midst of the Fire, astonished the Adversaries. Likewise the Churches of *Larch* and *Meronne* were marvellously tormented. Some were taken and sent to the Galleys, others yielded to the Adversaries, and a great Number of them fled. It is certainly known, that those which yielded to the Adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant. Whereby GOD

declareth how greatly He detesteth all such as play the Apostates, and shrink from the Truth.

ONE *Charles de Comptes*, of the Valley of *Lucerne*, and one of the Lords of *Angrogne*, wrote to the Commissioners, to use some Lenity towards them of the Valley of *Lucerne*. By Reason whereof they were awhile more gently treated than the rest. Yet the Monks of *Pignerol*, and their Associates, grievously tormented the Churches near them. They took them as they passed by the Way, and kept them Prisoners within their Abbey. And having assembled a Company of Russians, they sent them to spoil those of the Churches, and to take Prisoners Men, Women, and Children; and some they tormented so, that they were compelled to swear to return to the Mass; some they sent to the Gallies, and others they burnt.

THE Gentlemen of the Valley of *St. Martin*, treated their Tenants very cruelly, and commanding them to return to the Mass; spoiling them of their Goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the Means they could. But above all other, *Charles Truchet*, and *Boniface* his Brother; who, the Second Day of *April*, before Day, with a Company of Russians, spoiled a Village of their own Subjects, named *Renclaret*. As soon as the Inhabitants of the said Village perceived their Intent, they fled into the Mountains, covered with Snow, naked and without Victuals, and there remained 'till the third Night after. In the Morning, certain of his Retinue took a Minister of the said Valley, who was going out to visit the poor People of *Renclaret*, and led him Prisoner to the Abbey, where soon after he was burnt, with another of the Valley of *St. Martin*.

THE third Night after, they of *Pragela*, pitying the poor People of *Renclaret*, sent about 400

to discomfit the Company of the *Truchets*, and to restore, those which were fled, to their Houses. They were furiously assaulted by their Enemies, who notwithstanding in the End were put to Flight, and but one of the 400 hurt.

SOON after the Lords of the said Valley took another Minister, as he was going to preach a Mile from his House; but the People perceiving that, speedily pursued him and re-took him. The Enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead, and so persecuted the poor People, that they were almost destroyed.

THE Duke fell sick soon after. And in the Month of *April* following, the Lord of *Raconis* was present at a Sermon, in a Place near *Angrogne*. The Sermon being ended, he talked with the Ministers; and having discoursed as well of the Duke's Sickness, as also of his Clemency, he declared to them, That the Persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not the Commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, What Way they thought best to appease the Duke's Wrath? They answered: The best Way they knew, was to present in Writing the Confession of their Faith, and Defence of the Religion which they professed. Whereupon they sent three Supplications, one to the Duke, the second to the Dutcheſs, and the third to the Duke's Council; wherein they briefly declared what their Religion was, which they and their Ancestors had of a long Time observed, being wholly grounded upon the Word of GOD; and if by the same Word it could be proved that they were in Error, they would gladly embrace the Truth. After this the Persecution seemed to be somewhat asswaged for a little While.

IN June following, the Lord of *Raconis* and the Lord of *Trinity*, came to *Angrogne*, and caused the chief Rulers and Ministers to assemble together, propounding divers Points of Religion. They demanded, *If the Duke should cause Mass to be sung in their Parishes, whether they would withstand the same or no?* They simply answer'd: *They would not.* Then they demanded, *If the Duke would appoint them Preachers, whether they would receive them?* They answered: *That if they preached the Word of GOD purely, they would hear them.* Thirdly, *If they were content that in the mean Time their Ministers should cease, and if they, which should be sent, preached not the Word of GOD sincerely, then their Ministers to preach again?* *If they would agree to this, they were promised that the Persecution should cease, and the Prisoners should be restored again.* To this Question, after they had conferred with the People, they answered: *That they could by no Means suffer their Ministers should forbear Preaching.*

THE two Lords not contented with this Answer, commanded in the Duke's Name, that all the Ministers which were Strangers, should be banished the Country: Demanding also whether they would maintain the Prince's Enemies within his own Land against his expresse Commandment? To which they answered, *That they could by no Means banish them, unless they were convicted of some Heresy or other Crime; for their Part they had always found them to be Men of sound Doctrine, and also of godly Life and Conversation.*

IMMEDIATELY Proclamations were made against them, and the Persecution began on every Side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the Monks of *Pignerol* were most cruel: for they sent out a Company of hired Russians

fians which daily spoiled and ranſack'd Houſes, and all that they could lay Hands on; took Men, Women, and Children, and led them Captives to the Abbey, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted and tormented. At the ſame Time they ſent a Band of thoſe Ruſſians by Night, to the Miniſter of *S. Germain's* Houſe, in the Valley of *Perouſe*, being led thither by a Traitor that knew it. He knocking at the Door, the Miniſter knew his Voice, and came forth immediately, but perceiving himſelf to be betrayed, he fled. However he was ſoon taken and ſore wounded; notwithſtanding they pricked him behind with their Halberds to make him haſten his Pace. At that Time alſo many they ſlew, many they hurt, and many they brought to the Abbey, and there kept them in Priſon, and cruelly uſed them. The good Miniſter indured ſore Imprisonment, and after that a moſt terrible kind of Death with a wonderfull Conſtancy; for they roasted him by a ſmall Fire; and when half his Body was burnt, he confeſſed and called upon the LORD *Jeſus* with a loud Voice.

To be Brief, they ſo tormented thoſe poor People of *S. Germain*, and the Places thereabout, that after they were ſpoiled of their Goods, they were compelled to fly into the Mountains to ſave their Lives. So that many, who before, had been Men of much Wealth, and had miniſtered great Succour and Comfort to others, were now brought to ſuch Miſery, that they were compelled to aſk Relief of others.

WHEN theſe Monks, with their Troop of about 300 Ruſſians, made ſuch Havock in all the Country, that no Man could live in Safety, it was demanded of the Miniſters, Whether it was lawfull to defend themſelves againſt their violent Out-Rages? The Miniſters answered, That it was lawfull.

Then they of the Valley of *Lucerne* and of *Angrogne*, sent certain Men to them of *S. Germain* to aid them.

IN *June*, the Harvest Time in *Piedmont*, divers of the *Waldoy*s were gone into the Country to reap: these were all taken Prisoners at sundry Times and Places, not one knowing of another; but yet GOD so wrought, that they all escaped out of Prison; whereat the Adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same Time there were certain others also, which had sustained long Imprisonment, looking for nothing but Death; and yet they after a wonderful Sort, by GOD's merciful Providence, were likewise delivered.

IN *July*, they of *Angrogne* being at Harvest upon a Hill Side, perceived a Company of Soldiers spoiling them of *St. Germain*. Fifty of them immediately assembled together upon the Mountain, and some ran over the Hill, and some by the Valley. They which went by the Valley met the Spoilers, 120 in Number, coming from *St. Germain*, loaden with Spoil, which they had gotten, and setting upon them, soon overthrew them. The Passage over the Bridge being stopped, the Enemies were fain to take the River *Cluzon*, where some were much hurt, many were drowned, and some narrowly escaped; and such a Slaughter was made of them, that the River was dyed with Blood, but none of the *Angrognians* were hurt at all. Within an Hour's Time, there was three or four Hundred of the *Waldoy*s gathered together upon the River; and at the same Time they had purposed to fetch away their Prisoners which were in the Abbey, but they would not do it without the Counsel of their Ministers, and so deferred the Matter untill the next Day. But their Ministers counselled them not to enterprize any such Thing. The rest
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of the Country were wonderfully afraid, and rang the Bells every where. The greater Part of them fled, doubting lest the poor *Waldoys* would have revenged the Out-Rages done to them.

AFTER this, there were many Injunctions given out through all the Country, to banish the *Waldoys* out of the Mountains and Valleys of *Piedmont*: who only desired, that they might be suffered to serve GOD purely, according to the Rule prescribed in his Word: simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all Things.

YET in the End of *October*, the Rumour went that an Army was levying to destroy them; and in very Deed there were certain Bands levied, ready to march at an Hour's Warning. The Ministers and chief Rulers of the Valleys of *Lucerne* and *Angrogne*, thereupon assembled to advise what were best to be done. They determined, that for certain Days following, a general Fast should be kept. Also that they should not defend themselves by Force of Arms, but that every one should withdraw to the high Mountains, and carry away such Goods as they were able to bear: and if their Enemies pursued them thither, then to take such Advice as it pleased GOD to give them. This Article of not defending themselves seemed strange to the People, being driven to such an Extremity, and the Cause being so just. But yet every one began to carry his Goods and Victuals into the Mountain, and for the Space of eight Days, all the Ways were filled with Comers and Goers to and from the Mountains. All this they did in this great Danger, with a wonderful Courage and Cheerfulness, praising GOD, and singing Psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such Joy and Alacrity, that you could not have seen any who grudged to leave their Houses, and fair Possessi-

Possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good Pleasure of GOD, and to die if He had so appointed.

DURING this Season, the Ld. of *Angrogne*, nam'd *Charles de Comptes* of *Lucerne*, laboured earnestly to cause them of *Angrogne* to condescend to the Duke's Pleasure, and solicited them to send away their Ministers, promising that he would cause a Mass to be sung at *Angrogne*, and that the People should not be compelled to be present thereat. The chief of *Angrogne* thereupon assembled and made Answer: That if the Duke would permit them to choose other Ministers, they were content to send away their foreign Ministers. And as touching the Mass, his Highness might cause it to be sung in their Parishes, but they could not with safe Consciences be present, nor yet give their Consent to it

THE twenty second of *October*, the said Lord went to *Mondevis*, where he was then Governor for the Duke, and sent for the chief Rulers of *Angrogne* several Times, declaring unto them the great Dangers wherewith they were environed, the Army being at Hand. He promised them, if they would submit, he would send immediately to stay the Army. They answered, That they were all determined to stand to that which they had put in Writing. With this Answer he seemed at that present to be content. The next Day the Rumour was, That they of *Angrogne* had submitted themselves to the Duke. The People hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And it was agreed, that at that Instant, some should be sent to the Lord of *Angrogne*, to signify to him, that the Determination of the Counsel was falsified, and that it might please him the next Morning to come to *Angrogne*

to hear the Voices of the People, not only of the Men, but also of the Women and Children. But he himself went not, but sent thither the Judge of that Place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the Judge laying all the Blame upon the Notary.

DURING this Time the Adversaries cried out through all the Country of *Piedmont*: *To the Fire, to the Fire with them.* The *Thursday* after, by Proclamations set up in every Place, *Angrogne* was exposed to Fire and Sword. On *Friday*, being the Second of *November*, the Army approached to the Borders of the Valley of *Lucerne*, and certain Horse-Men came to a Place called *St. John*, a little beneath *Angrogne*. Then the People retired into the Mountains. Certain of *St. John* perceiving that the Horse-men not only spoiled their Goods, but also took their Fellows Prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain, what Number of their Enemies were slain; but they suddenly retired to the Camp, and not one of them of *St. John* was slain or hurt. At the same Time, two of the Horse-men, being sore amazed, galloped before the Rest towards the Army, being ready to march towards *Angrogne*, crying, *They come, they come!* At whose Cry the whole Army was so astonished, that every Man fled his Way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captains that Day were not able to bring them in Order again.

ON *Saturday* in the Morning, the Army mustered in the Meadow-ground of *St. John*, near *Angrogne*. The *Angrognians* had sent certain to keep the Passages, and stop the Army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean Season the People retired into the Meadow of *Toure*, and little thought of the Coming of the Army so soon; for they were yet carrying off Victuals and other Stuff,

Stuff, so that few of them kept the Passages. They which kept the Straits, perceiving that their Enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their Knees, and made their Prayers unto GOD, that it would please Him to take Pity upon them, and not to look upon their Sins, but the Cause which they maintained: and if it were his Will to take them, with their Wives and Infants out of this World, that He would mercifully receive them into his Kingdom. In this Sort, all those that kept the Passages, made fervent Prayers with Exhortation, that they should all together cry unto GOD. All this the Lord of *Trinity* and the Army perceived.

THEIR Prayers ended, they perceiv'd their Enemies coming towards them, thro' the Vines, to win the Top of the Mountain of *Angrogne*. In the meantime the Prior of *St. John*, and *Jacomel* the Inquisitor, were in the Church of *Angrogne*, and communed with the Rulers touching an Agreement. These were sent thither by the Lord of *Trinity* to keep the People employed. The Combat began in divers Places, and endured for a long Space in the Passages of *Angrogne*. The poor *Waldoys* being but few in Number, and some of them having but Slings and Cross-bows, were sore pressed with the Multitude of their Enemies. At length they retired to the Top of the Mountain, where they defended themselves 'till Night.

WHEN they had found a Place where they might withstand their Enemies, who still pursued them, they turned, and slew divers of them. When the Evening came, the Enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to lodge all Night. When the *Angrognians* perceived this, they fell to Prayer, desiring GOD to succour them; but the Enemies laughed them to scorn. As they were making

making their Supplications to GOD, the Lord of *Trinity* caused his Soldiers, who were about to encamp themselves, to remove. This prov'd a great Advantage to the poor People, which now were fore wearied, all wet with Sweating, very thirsty, and in great Peril, if GOD had not given them some little Breathing-Time. Many of the Enemies that Day were slain, and many hurt. There were but three of the *Angrognians* slain, and one hurt, who was afterwards healed. This Combat gave great Courage to the *Waldoys*, and sore astonish'd the Adversaries. But the Army retiring, burnt many Houses, and made great Spoil as they went.

THE Lord of *Trinity*, with his Army, encamp- in a Village beyond *Toure*, in the Valley of *Lucerne*, at the Foot of the Hill, between *Angrogne* and the other Towns of the Valley of *Lucerne*, which profess'd the Gospel. They of *Angrogne* (seeing themselves now, in a Sea of Troubles) after they had recommended themselves to GOD by Prayer, sent to them of *Perouse*, St. *Martin*, and of *Pragela*; who sent them all the Help they were able.

THE next Day there came Letters to *Angrogne* from the Lord of *Trinity*, intimating: That he was sorry for that which was done the Day before; and that he came not thither to make War against them, but only to view if it were a Place convenient to build a Fort therein to serve the Duke. The *Angrognians* answered: That they were griev'd to be so assaulted by the Subjects of their natural Prince: And as they had oftentimes before offer'd themselves to be obedient to their Sovereign Prince, so they still offer'd the same.

UPON *Monday* the 4th of *November*, the Lord of *Trinity* sent his Army to *Villars* and *Tailleret*.
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The lesser Company ascended towards *Villars*. The People seeing their Enemies approach, after they had called upon GOD with fervent Prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: Many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other Company ascended towards *Tailleret*. And altho' they of that Place were but few in Number, yet making their Prayers unto GOD, and commending their Cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

IN the mean Season, they of *Villars* came to assist their Neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their Enemies, and put them to Flight. In this Pursuit the poor People were suddenly enclosed on every Side by an Ambush, which came another Way; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the Enemies Side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole Cart-Loads. The same Day the Inhabitants of *Sanfon*, near *Roccapiata*, assembled in great Number, and went to a rich Man's House of *Roccapiata*, and spoiled all that he had. About seventeen Men of *Roccapiata*, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to Flight, took their Drum, and forced them to leave their Booty behind them.

AFTER the Lord of *Trinity* had received the *Angrognians* Letters, he sent his Secretary to them. His Charge was to cause the chief Rulers to send certain to commune with the Lord of *Trinity*. Whereupon they sent four to him, whom he treated very courteously, and said, He doubted not, but if they would send certain to the Court with a Supplication, they would obtain more than they themselves should require; and he would retire himself with his Army. The People desiring but
only

only to live peaceably under their lawful Prince, were content to follow his Counsel.

ABOUT this Time the *Angrognians* perceived that a Part of the Army ascended the Hill of *Tailleret*, (which is the half-way between *Angrogne* and those of the Valley of *Lucerne*) and the other Part had already gotten a Way, which led to the Meadow of *Toure*, by which they of *Angrogne* might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they immediately sent certain to keep the Way, who soon after encountred with their Enemies, and obtained the Victory, pursuing them to their Camp, not without great Loss of their Men. Not one of *Angrogne* perished, nor was hurt. It was feared that this Combat would have hindred the Agreement; but the Lord of *Trinity* could well dissemble the Matter, and excused that Day's Journey, putting the Fault upon them of *Tailleret*, whom he charged to have slain certain of his Men in the Highway.

ON *Saturday* following, being the 9th of *November*, the Lord of *Trinity* sent for them of *Angrogne*, to consult touching the Agreement; and added, That in Token of true Obedience they should carry their Armour into two of the Houses of their Rulers, not fearing, but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own Keeping, and if Need were, they should receive it again. Also, that upon *Sunday* (which was the next Day) he would cause a Mass to be sung within the Church of *St. Laurence* in *Angrogne*, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Duke's Wrath would be asswaged.

THE next Morning he went into the Church, his Army marching before him; and having caused a Mass to be sung, he desired to see the Mea-

dow of *Toure*, that he might make a true Report thereof to the Duke; the Rulers, with a great Troop of his own Men, went thither, the Residue of his Company remained behind; who spoiled certain Houses, and seized the Armour which they had delivered up before. The said Lord being entred the Meadow of *Toure*, the People began to make a Commotion: He, having Intelligence thereof, returned immediately. All that Day he shewed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

THE People in the mean Time perceived themselves to be in great Danger, and were fore moved at the Sight of the Army, the Spoil of the Soldiers, the Taking away of their Armour, but especially because the Lord of *Trinity* had viewed the Meadow of *Toure*, foreseeing his traiterous Purpose. A few Days after he sent his Secretary to *Angrogne* to talk with them concerning the Agreement, and to make a full Resolution; which was then drawn up, and read in the Assembly, the Sum whereof was this: That the People of *Angrogne* submitted themselves to render all Honour and Reverence to GOD according to his Holy Word, and due Obedience to the Duke their Sovereign Prince, to whom they would send certain Men to demand Pardon of him, concerning their bearing Armour in their extreme Necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their Religion, which was according to the Word of GOD, not compelling them to do any Thing against their Conscience.

To this they of *St. John*, of *Roccapjata*, of *St. Bartholomew*, and of *Perouse*, with those of *Lucerne*, agreed. For it was concluded, that the Agreement should extend to all the Confederates of the same Religion. Whilst they were treating of
this,

this, the Lord of *Trinity*, vexed them of *Tailleret*, under Pretence, that they had not presented themselves to treat of an Agreement: And first he commanded that all their Armour should be bro't before him, and then on their Knees they should ask him Pardon, because they came not to treat of the Agreement with the rest, (which notwithstanding the most Part of them did). Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to inroll all the Names of those which would be of the aforefaid Agreement.

THE next Morning the chief of the Household-ers went to the Village *Bouvets*, the Place appointed, and when they had heard a Sermon, began to write their Names. The Enrolling of their Names not being fully ended, Word was brought, that the Soldiers had gotten the Top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Passages; whereat they of *Tailleret* were fore amazed, and ran with all Speed to defend their Wives and Children. Some they saved; the most Part, with their Goods, were in the Enemy's Hands already. At this Time they did much Mischief, by Sacking, Spoiling, and Burning.

AFTER this the said Lord sent Word to them which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to Mercy. The poor People, trusting on his Promise, returned to *Bouvets*, and yet the next Morning the Soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their Ministers, and beset the Place on every Side. Such as were swift of Foot, escaped, but very hardly: The Rest were all taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous Means: For it happened that there was an old Man which could not run fast, to whom one of the Soldiers came with a naked Sword, to have slain him. The old Man seeing the imminent Danger, caught the Soldier

by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the Heels down the Hill.

THE Soldier cried out; *Help, Help, this Villain will kill me.* His Fellows hearing him cry, made Haste to rescue him; but in the mean Time the old Man escaped. The Rest, seeing what the old Man had done, took Heart, and though their Armour and Weapons were taken from them, yet with Stones and Slings, they so beat and discomfited their Enemies, that for the present Time they carried no Prisoners away.

THE Day following, the Soldiers returning to *Tailleret*, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all they could find, and so continued three Days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor Men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the Agreement, made no Resistance, but retired towards *Villars*.

THE fourth Day, the said Lord sent his Army again before Day to the Mountain, and into the same Place, and because the People of the Village were retired towards *Villars*, and scattered in the high Mountains, the Soldiers, not yet satisfied with Spoiling and Sacking *Tailleret*, ranged about the Confines thereof, and made Havock, on every Side, of whatsoever they could lay Hands on, taking Prisoners both Men and Women.

THE poor Prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst others there was one, whose Ear a Soldier of *Mondevis*, bit clean off, saying: *I will carry the Flesh of these Hereticks with me into my Country.* They of *Villars* also complained of the Cruelty that was shewed unto them, during the Time of the Agreement.

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THE Lord of *Trinity*, to make a Shew that he was offended therewith, came to his Soldiers, who were so weary that they could scarce go, (not with Fighting, but because they were so loaden with Spoil) and pretending to be in great Choler, some he beat, and some Things of a small Value he caused to be restored. The same Day two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, were found in a Cave in the Mountain, wounded to Death by the Soldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind Man, aged 100 Years, who had fled into a Cave with his Son's Daughter, being 18 Years old, was slain by the Enemy, and as they would have forced the Maiden, she escaped from them, fell from the Top of the Mountain, and died.

AT that Time also a great Company of Women of *Tailleret* and *Villars* were taken as they fled, with their Goods, and brought to the Camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same Time a Soldier which promised to find out the Minister of *Tailleret*. And he never ceased 'till he had found him, and after that he pursued him a long Time. But as he was pursuing him, certain coming out of the Mountain unawares, rescued the poor Minister, and killed the Soldier with Stones.

THIS especially is to be noted, that during these Troubles divers of the Papists had sent their Daughters into the Mountains unto the *Waldoys* to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ravished by the Soldiers, being wholly given over as to all Cruelty and Rapine, so to all Villainy and Abomination.

ALL this being done, the Lord of *Trinity* caused the Head Officers and chiefeſt of the People to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the Army was a great Charge

to the Duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the Charges. For this Cause he demanded 8000 Crowns out of Hand. But when the Money was paid, yet the Army retired not.

AFTER this, he commanded the *Waldoys* to surrender up all their Armour. Then he commanded that the Ministers should be sent away, untill the Matter were determined before the Duke: Whereupon they determined their Ministers should withdraw for a Space, until the Army were retired; which was not done without many grievous Sighs, Lamentations, and Tears. At that Season there fell Abundance of Snow, so that the People were constrain'd to make a Way, with great Pains, thro' the Top of the Mountain of *St. Martin*, for their Ministers to pass. The Lord of *Trinity* thinking to have inclosed them, kept the Plain, and the Mountains being covered so thick with Snow, he imagined they could by no Means have escaped his Hands. But the People caused them to pass the Top of the Mountain, and at their Departure there flocked out of every Quarter great Multitudes to the Village of *Boby*, and came together in a secret Place, called *Le Puis*, not without great Grief and Sorrow.

THE Army being informed that the Ministers were assembled together, a great Troop was presently at Hand, who fought them to the very Top of the Mountain; insomuch, that if they had remained there but one Hour longer, they had been all taken.

THE Lord of *Trinity* promised often, *That altho' it were forbidden to all the Ministers to preach, yet the Minister of Angrogne should be excepted: And sent the Minister Word, That if he would demand any Thing of the Duke, it should be granted him.*

Where-

Wherefore the Minister made this one Request, *That the poor People might live peaceably in their Religion.* A while after he sent for the same Minister, to confer with him privately upon certain Points of Religion. He propounded three Points to him: The First concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; the other, concerning Transubstantiation. The Minister immediately declared his Opinion of these two Points, and he seem'd to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in Writing. The last was to persuade the Minister to go to the Duke's Court, and there defend the Cause of the People. The Minister answer'd: *That he was bound to GOD and his Church, and if it seemed convenient to the People, he would go.*

SHORTLY after the said Lord sent his Army to St. Laurence, in *Angrogne*, pretending to sing a Mass there, and suddenly the Soldiers besieged the Minister's House. The Minister being warn'd thereof escaped, and withdrew himself into the Rocks upon the Mountain, accompanied with five others. The Army was soon at his Heels, and fought a good While in the Houses and Cottages on every Side, cruelly handling the People whom they took, to make them confess where he was. At length they spied him among the Rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him, and so they pursued him in the Rocks, all covered with Snow, 'till it was Night, and could not take him. Then they return'd and spoiled his House, diligently searched out all his Books and Writings, and carried them to the Lord of *Trinity*. That Day they spoiled forty Houses in *Angrogne*, broke their Mills, and carried away all the Corn and Meal that they found.

AFTER some Days, when the Soldiers had burned Houses, pillaged the People, broken their
Mills,

Mills, and done what Mischief they could, the Army retired. Notwithstanding the Lord of *Trinity* left Garrisons in the Fortresses; but all at the Costs of the *Waldos*. These Garrisons, not contented with their Wages, spoiled the People continually.

THE Rulers of *Angrogne*, which were gone to the Fortress, to carry Money and Victuals thither, were retain'd by the Soldiers, and in Spite of them the People caused Mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to Death. One of them was sent again for more Money; the other, with great Peril of his Life leap'd over the Walls, and escap'd. In like Manner did the other Garrisons treat the Villages near them. The Garrison of *Toure* and *Villars* especially, and being assembled together by Night, went to *Tailleret*, to the Place call'd *Bouvets*, breaking open the Doors, sack'd and spoil'd all they could lay Hands on, took 14 Prisoners, and bound them Two and Two together by the Arms, and so led them to the Fortress of *Toure*. But two that escaped, whilst the Soldiers were taking others, set upon them, who led the Prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted them with Stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the Prisoners, who rolling themselves down the Mountain, having their Hands tied behind their Backs, and fastned two and two together by the Arms, were contented rather to die, than to be carried to the Fortress; and yet in the End they escaped. The other two which were led to the Fortress, were cruelly tormented, and at last the Captain strangled one of them with his own Hands. The other, whose Name was *Odul Gemet*, being about Threescore Years of Age, suffer'd a strange and cruel Death: For having bound him, they took a Kind of Creatures which live in Horse-Dung, call'd in French *Escarbotz*, and put them

them to his Navel, covering them with a Dish, which in a short Space pierced into his Belly, and killed him.

THE poor *Waldos* were yet in great Distress, but especially because they had not the Preaching of God's Word. Therefore taking good Courage, they determin'd to begin Preaching again, but secretly, for two Reasons: The one for Fear of moving the Duke, and hindering their Messengers, having yet some Hope of good Success: The other, that no Occasion might be given to the Soldiers of further Trouble and Outrage. Also they of *Angrogne* were fully determin'd, as soon as their Messengers were return'd, to preach openly, what News soever they brought; and not to contribute to the maintaining of the Garrison.

THE Messengers, which were sent to the Duke, were detain'd six Weeks, and cruelly handled. When they returned, and the People understood there was a new Commandment, that they should return to the Mass: Also, That Popish Preachers were appointed, and ready to come to them, there was wonderful Lamentation, Weeping and Mourning, for this great Calamity.

Hereupon, they of the Valley of *Lucerne* and *Boby*, being assembled together, sent two Ministers, with some of the People to the Churches of *Pragela* (which are in the Country of *Dauphiny*) to signify to them the Estate of the poor Churches of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, and to have their Advice how to prevent the great Dangers at Hand, if it were possible. For this Cause they all fell to Prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his Grace, and the Spirit of Discretion; in the End it was concluded, That all the People dwelling in the said Vallies and Mountains of *Piedmont*, and those
of

of *Dauphiny*, should join in a League together. Whereupon they all promis'd by GOD's Assistance, to maintain the pure Preaching of the Gospel, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments; also to assist one another, and to render all Obedience to their Superiors, so far as they were commanded by the Word of GOD. And certain of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches of *Dauphiny* were sent to the Valley of *Lucerne*, to know if they would give their Consent hereto, and ratify the same.

THESE Messengers, the Ministers and others of *Dauphiny* being arrived at the Village of *Boby*, and the People being there assembled, Word was brought, that the next Day every Householder should appear in the Council-House, to know whether they would return to the Mass or no: and that they who would receive the Mass, should quietly enjoy their Houses; and they which would not, should be burned, or sent to the Gallies. Wherefore the People was brought to this Extremity, either to die, or flee, or renounce GOD. Seeing themselves in such Distress, they gladly consented to the League. After this they exhorted one another, saying: *Forasmuch as we shall be all called for To-morrow, to forsake our GOD, and revolt again to Idolatry, let us now make solemn Protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false Religion of the Pope, and that we will live and die in the Maintenance and Confession of GOD's holy Word. Let us all go To-morrow to the Church, to hear the Word of GOD, and let us cast down to the Ground all the Idols. To this every Man agreed, saying: Let us do it in that very Hour, in which they have appointed us to be at the Council-house.*

THE next Day they assembled themselves in the Church, and without Delay beat down the Images. After Sermon, they went to *Villars*, to do the
like

like there. By the Way they encountred with a Band of Soldiers, which were going to spoil a Village, named *Le Vall Guichard*, and to take the poor Inhabitants Prisoners. The Soldiers seeing them so ill accoutred, mocked them, thinking at the first Brunt to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with Stones chased them even to the Fortrefs. When they came to *Villars*, they beat down their Images, and afterwards besieged the Fortrefs, and demanded the Prisoners who were there detained.

THE same Day, the Judge of *Lucerne* went to the Council-house, to enroll the Names of those, who would return to the Mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desir'd the People to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted. Divers Gentlemen also came thither with the Judge, to make their poor Tenants forsake GOD; but seeing the Tumult, they were fain to flee into the Castle, where they and the Garrison were besieged together. The second Day of the Siege, the Captain of *Toure* went with a Company of Soldiers, thinking to raise the Siege; but they were either slain or discomfited by those that kept the Passages. As much was done the third Day. The fourth Day he return'd with three Bands, and with the Garrison of *Toure*, which caused a furious Combat, wherein many of the Enemies were slain, and a great Number wounded; and yet of those that besieged the Fort there was not one Man hurt.

THEY attempted divers Means to take the Fortrefs, but without Ordnance it was impossible; wherefore they were now past all Hope of winning it. Moreover, the Lord of *Trinity*, returning with his Army, was come to the Valley of *Lucerne*, and the next Day after might easily have raised the Siege.

Siege. But the Garrison (not knowing the Lord of *Trinity* was so near) desired they might depart with Bag and Baggage. Here is not to be forgotten, that the Soldiers, who a While before did so cruelly persecute the poor Ministers, were now fain to pray them to save their Lives, which the Ministers did. The Soldiers gave them great Thanks, and promised to do for them what they should desire. The same Night the Fortrefs was razed.

THE Second of *February*, the Lord of *Trinity* encamped at *Lucerne*, and placed a Garrison in the Priory of *St. John*, between *Lucerne* and *Angrogne*. The next Day he sent to inform them of *Angrogne*, that if they would not take Part with the Rest, they should be gently handled. But they, and the rest of the Vallies, agreed to aid one another, and to make no Truce without the Consent of all. About Noon, the Lord of *Trinity* march'd with his Army by *St. John*, to enter into the Borders of *Angrogne*, by a Place called *La Sonnillette*. The People had made certain Bulwarks of Earth and Stone, not above three Foot high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their Enemies, which assailed them divers Ways. When the Enemies were so Weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh Soldiers into their Places; so that the Combat endur'd 'till Night; and all that Day the Army could not enter into the Borders of *Angrogne*. Many of the Enemies were slain, and a great Number hurt. But two of *Angrogne* were slain; one of whom was slain by his own Folly, because he was too Greedy of the Spoil. The Army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a While, to make themselves stronger.

THE *Friday* following, which was the seventh of *February*, at break of the Day, the Army marched towards *Angrogne*, five several Ways.
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The People of *Angrogne* were not assembled, and there were none to resist, but only a few which kept the Watch. They seeing their Enemies coming upon them in so many Places, and perceiving, that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a Space, recoiled by little and little to a high Place, called *La Casse*, where the Combat was renewed with greater Fierceness than before. But the Lord of *Trinity* seeing the Loss of his Men, blew a Retreat, and descended to *Angrogne*, (the People being fled to the Meadow of *Toure*) and there spoiled and burnt all the Wines, Victuals, and the rest of the Goods that he could find; so that in a short Space, he had burned about a thousand Houses.

It is not to be forgotten, that they often set Fire upon the two Churches of *Angrogne*, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the Minister's House, which notwithstanding remained whole, the Houses round about being all consumed with Fire. This Day none of *Angrogne* was slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his Thigh.

THERE were in all *Angrogne* but two, that were Enemies to the Word of GOD, which were slain by the Soldiers, not in the Combat, but for their Riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a covetous Wretch, and had great Store of Gold and Silver, but would spend nothing, either to help himself or others, no, not his poor Parents. All this was spoiled by the Soldiers, with 200 Crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of *Angrogne* slain that Day. All the rest of the People retired to the Meadow of *Toure*, the Situation whereof we will here describe,

for the better Understanding of that which followeth.

“TOURE is a little Valley upon the Borders of *Angrogne*, invironed with Mountains, two Miles in Length, but very narrow. On both Sides, and in the Midst thereof, there are about 200 Cottages; also Meadows, Pastures, Ground for Tillage, Trees, and Fountains. On the South and North Side, the Mountains are so high, that no Man can approach the Valley that Way. On the other Sides, a Man may enter seven or eight Ways. This Place is not more than two Miles from *Angrogne*. The Way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass because of the Hills on both Sides. There is also a River hard by, but the Banks thereof very high in many Places.” The People had carried thither very little Victuals, because the Way was so bad, and because of the sudden Return of the Army.

THE Lord of *Trinity*, after he had twice assaulted *Angrogne*, sent some to burn *Rosa*, and to discover the Ways which led to the Valley of *Lucerne*; but the Soldiers were driven back four Days together by those who kept the Passages. Whereupon he sent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withstood from Morning till Night. Then they of *Lucerne* sent new Aid. During this Combat, an Ambush of Soldiers descended from the Top of the Mountain, by a Place so hard to pass, that no Man would have suspected it. The poor People, seeing themselves so invironed by their Enemies, saved themselves; some running through the Midst of their Enemies, and others into the Rocks.

THE Enemies being entred into *Rosa*, consumed all with Fire and Sword. The Residue of the People, fled by the secret Way leading to the Valley

Valley of *Lucerne*, and wandred all Night upon the Mountains full of Snow, loaden with their Stuff, carrying their little Infants in their Arms, and leading the others by the Hand. When they of the Valley saw them, they ran to them, praising GOD for their Deliverance. Altho' this People were here in such great Extremity, they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any Lamentation or Mourning, except the poor little Infants which cried for Cold.

A FEW Days after the Lord of *Trinity* entred the Valley of *Lucerne*, by three several Ways, that is, by *Rosa*, by the Plains, and by the Sides of *Tailleret*. They which kept the Passages, at first, resisted their Enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every Side, they retir'd to *Villars*, and there defended themselves a While. But because they saw their Enemies had already passed the Plain, and gotten above *Villars*, towards *Boby*, they gave over, and leaving *Villars*, they fled into the Mountains. The Soldiers being entred, burned the Houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor People who were fled into the Mountains, seeing their Village on Fire, prais'd GOD, and gave Him Thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his Sake: And they were glad to see the Village on Fire, lest their Enemies should encamp themselves there. Then the Soldiers in great Rage, mounted the Hills on every Side, pursuing the poor People in great Fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon GOD, took Courage, and beat their Enemies back to *Villars*. This done, the Army retir'd.

FEW Days after, the Meadow of *Toure* was assaulted three Ways on the East Side. The Combat endur'd a long Season, where divers of the Enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of

this poor People were slain, only two were hurt, who were soon healed again. It were too long to declare the Assaults, Skirmishes, and Alarms, which were at *Angrogne* and other Places; it shall be sufficient to touch the Principal, and those which are most worthy of Memory.

On *Saturday, February 14*, the People who were in the uppermost Part of the Meadow of *Toure*, perceived a Company of Soldiers were ascended up the Hill to *Angrogne*, burning the rest of the Houses there. They doubted, that it was a Policy of their Enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean Time, to set on them behind. Therefore they sent only six Men against those Soldiers; who having the higher Ground, and not being seen of their Enemies, discharged all their Guns together. Whereupon the Soldiers all ran away.

SHORTLY after, they of the Ward of the Meadow of *Toure*, which were on the Top of the Mountain, (because every Morning there was a Sermon made, whereunto the People resorted, and they could see afar off round about them) espied a Troop of Soldiers marching on that Side of the Hill, which is between the East and the North, and soon after, discovered another Company, which marched on the North Side towards the said Troop. The first ascended an Hour before the other, and fought on the Top of the Mountain, but they were soon discomfited. And because they could not run fast in the deep Snow, they often fell to the Ground in their Flight. Whilst the Pursuers were earnest in the Chase, there came some to them, crying out, *That the other Troop was entred the Meadow of Toure*, wherefore they gave over the Chase, or else, in all Probability, not one of their Enemies had escaped. Not one of *Angrogne* was slain or hurt.

THE other Troop which came by the North-side, took a high Hill in the Top of the Mountain, which seemed almost inaccessible. The chief of this Company were *Lodovick*, of *Monteil*, (which had been Master of the Camp in the King's Wars) and *Charles Truchet*. When they were come to the Top of the Hill, they caused seven Soldiers to go down the Hill, and view the Way, and see whether the Troop might descend that Way or no. These seven went down almost to the Houses. They sent others to secure the rest of the High Places which were near the Foot of the Hill and the Rocks. In the mean Time, the Ministers and the People which were in the Valley, saw all this, and were much discouraged; wherefore they fell to Prayer, and called upon GOD, not without great Sighs, Lamentation and Tears, even untill Night.

THE seven Spies, which came down to discover the Ways, cried unto their Captain *Truchet*: *Come down, come down, Seignior Charles, this Day Angrogne shall be taken.* The other cried to them again: *Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain every one of you.* Immediately issued out five against these Spies, and took some, and chased the Rest. The first of the five which set upon them, cast two of them down upon the Ground with a Fork. Soon after eight *Angrognians* issued out against the whole Troop. It was wonderful to see them go with such Courage and Boldness, to assail such a Multitude, it seem'd likely they would have been all destroy'd, and hewn in Pieces. The first of the Eight went a good Way before the others, to discover the Enemies. He carried a great Staff, which they call a *Rancon*, somewhat bigger than an Halberd. The others followed two and two together, with Guns. These eight went from Rock to Rock, and from Hill to Hill, about

the Mountain, and chased their Enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, who joining with the Rest, fought with a wonderful Courage, and made great Slaughter of their Enemies.

SOON after there came 100 Men from the Valley of *Lucerne*, with one of their Ministers. For it was their Custom to send out a Minister, as well for Prayer and Exhortation, as to keep the People in Order. At length they saw them also coming, which returned from the Discomfiture of the former Troop, making a great Noise, and having a Drum sounding before them, which they had taken. These joined with them of the Valley of *Lucerne*, and having made their earnest Prayer to GOD, came to succour the other that now were encountering valiantly with their Enemies. When the Enemies saw such a Company marching against them, their Hearts so failed them, that they suddenly fled, and as soon as the other began to pray, they began to flee. But because they could not well save themselves by running away, some turned back twice, and fought while the rest fled.

HE that carried the Rancon, and discover'd the Enemies, was a very young, simple Man, and it was thought that he could do nothing, but handle a Hatchet; yet he, with those that follow'd, so discomfited the Enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great Rancon, with laying Load upon them; and after that he broke also four of their own Swords in pursuing of them. There was a Boy of 18 Years of Age, and of small Stature, who alone slew the Lord of *Monteil*; where-with the Enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple Man, who, a Man would have thought, durst not once have looked *Charles Truchet* in the Face (because he was a very big Man, strong and puissant, and one of the chief

chief Captains of the whole Army) fell'd him down with the Stroke of a Stone: Then a young Man leapt upon him, and with his own Sword, which was four Fingers broad, cleft his Head in Pieces.

THIS *Truchet* was one of the principal Authors of this War, and one of the chief Enemies of the poor *Waldoys*. He vaunted and promised before to the Lord of *Trinity*, that he would deliver the Meadow of *Toure* into his Hands. But GOD soon brought his proud Brags to nought; and for his Spoiling the poor People, he lay spoiled and naked like a Beast, in the wild Mountain of *Angrogne*.

THE Minister, when he saw the great Effusion of Blood, cried to the People, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give Thanks to GOD. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to Prayer; but they which were further off, and heard him not, chased their Enemies 'till dark Night. Insomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few had escaped. That Day they took a great Part of their Enemies Armour and Munition. So GOD restored to the poor *Waldoys*, the Armour, which the Lord of *Trinity* had taken from them before. Thanks were given to GOD in every Place, and every Man cried; *Who is he that seeth not that GOD fighteth for us?* This Victory gave great Courage to the *Waldoys*, and greatly astonished the Enemies.

THE 18th of *February*, the Lord of *Trinity*, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest Part of *Villars*, returned to burn all the Villages round about, and to pursue the poor People, which were fled up into the Mountains, and dividing his Army into three Parts, entred by three several Ways. The two first Companies joined together between *Villars* and *Boby*, having a great Company of Horsemen.

men. From thence they went to seek the People, which were in the Mountain of *Combe*, by such a Way as they did not suspect, and where there were no Warders to defend the Place. Notwithstanding, the Warders, which were next, seeing their Enemies ascending that Way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon GOD for Succour, set themselves against their Enemies. And though they were but thirty in Number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice. Many of the Enemies were slain in those two Combats, and not one of the other Side. The Lord of *Trinity*, seeing his Men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest Part of his Army, which were about 1500 Men. There came about 100 to succour the Warders. The Combat was very fierce. At length the poor People were assaulted so vehemently, that they were forced to forsake their Bulwarks, losing two of their Men. Then the Enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their Trumpets, triumphing that they had won the Day. But the People, retiring not a Stone's-Cast, took Courage, and crying to the LORD, turn'd upon their Enemies, and with great Power hurled Stones at them with their Slings.

AFTER this the Enemies rested themselves a while, and then they gave a furious Assault, but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the Enemies rested; and in the mean Time the People fell to Prayer, calling upon GOD all together, with their Faces lifted up towards Heaven; which affrighted the Enemies more than any Thing else. After this, they gave yet another great Assault; but GOD, by the Hands of a few, drove them back. Yea, GOD here shewed his great Power, even in the little Children, who fervently called upon GOD, threw Stones at their Enemies, and gave Courage to the Men. So did also the Women, who beholding these furious Combats,
kneeled

kneeled upon the Ground, and having their Faces lifted up towards Heaven, with Tears and Groanings, cried, *LORD help us.* And the LORD heard their Prayers.

AFTER these three Assaults were given, there came one unto them, crying: *Be of good Courage, GOD hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us.* He meant, that they of *Angrogne* were fighting for them in another Place, that is, towards *T. illeret*, where the third Part of the Army was. The People perceiving that they of *Angrogne* were come to that Place to succour them, began to cry: *Blessed be GOD, who hath sent us Succour.* The Enemies hearing this, were astonished, blew a Retreat, and retired into the Plain.

THAT Troop which was gone towards *Tailleret*, divided themselves into three Companies. The first marched by the Side of the Mountain, burning many Houses, and joined with the main Army. The second Company, which was 140, marched higher, thinking to take the People unawares. But they were driven back by seven Men. The third Company attained the Top of the Mountain, thinking to inclose the People; but (as GOD would) they of *Angrogne*, which came to succour them, encountred with them, and put them to Flight.

THEY of *Villars*, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little Bread and Wine, (for the most Part of them had eaten Nothing all Day) chased their Enemies 'till it was almost Night, so fiercely, that the Master of the Camp was obliged to send to the Lord of *Trinity* (who was at *Toure*) for Succour, or else all would have been lost. And immediately he rode with all Speed to *Lucerne* to save himself, hearing the Alarm which was given at *St. John* by those

those of *Angrogne*, and fearing lest the Way should have been stopp'd. The Army retired with great Difficulty (notwithstanding the new Aid which was sent them) and with great Loss of Men. One of their Captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that Night long. Since that Time they never return'd again into the Valley of *Lucerne*.

ON *Monday*, being the 7th of *March* next following, the Lord of *Trinity*, to be revenged of those of the Meadow of *Toure*, assembled all the Force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Country. His Army before was commonly about 4000, but it was now between 6 and 7000. He, with Part of his Army, encamped secretly in the Night, in the midst of *Angrogne*, from whence the poor Inhabitants were fled before. The next Morning, after the Sermon and Prayers were ended, they perceived the other Part of the Army to be encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain of *Angrogne*. Soon after they perceiv'd how both Parts of the Army coasted the Hill's Side, the one towards the other; and they were such a Multitude, and march'd in such Array, that the poor People were astonished. Notwithstanding, the Assembly fell down upon their Knees, crying, O LORD help us. These two Parts of the Army joined together near the Meadow of *Toure*, and gave the Assault in three several Places. One of the Bands mounted secretly by Rocks, thinking to have inclosed the People in their Bulwarks. But as soon as they, who kept the Bulwark below, espied them, they forsook the Place, and marched strait towards them; and as they marched, they met with the Aid which was sent them from the Valley of *Lucerne*, coming as it were from Heaven. They joining together, soon discomfited their Enemies. The Captain of this Band was named *Bastian*, a
Man.

Man very expert in War. At his Going out of his Lodging he threatned that he would do terrible Things that Day. His Hostess hearing that, said: *Monsieur, if our Religion be better than theirs, you shall have the Victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail.* Shortly after the Captain was brought again into his Inn, so wounded that he was not like to live. Then said his Hostess; *Monsieur, it is now very evident, that their Religion is better than ours.*

THERE was another Band which kept the Top of the Hill, to assault the Bulwarks from thence. The middlemost Bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend it; who, seeing the Number of their Enemies, retired, leaving therein five only. There was a huge Rock not far from the foresaid Bulwark; behind this a great Number of the Enemies were hid. Anon two Ensigns issued out, assuring themselves to win the Bulwark: but immediately one of the Ensign-bearers was wounded to Death. Whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his Ensign upon the Bulwark. They which were within, had neither Halbert, nor any other long Weapon, but only one Pike, and the same without any Iron: With this one of the five threw down the Ensign, and manfully beat back the Scalers, and threw them down to the Ground. Divers of the Enemies were entred into the Bulwark by a Door below, and slew one of the five. The other four looked to be destroy'd out of Hand. Then one of the four chased away those which had entred below, with Stones; and the other three leaving their Guns, defended themselves likewise with great Stones; and perceiving the Band which was on the Rocks to flee, they took Courage, and withstood their Enemies valiantly 'till their Companions return'd from the Chase.

IN the mean Time the Bulwark, which was upon the Side of the Mountain, was furiously assailed by half of the Army. Those that were within suffered their Enemies to approach near, without any Gun shot, or other Defence. The Enemies marvelled much at this ; but when they were at Hand, they fell upon them, some with Throwing of Stones, some with rolling down mighty Stones, and some with Guns. There was a huge Stone rolled down, which passed thro' the whole Army, and slew divers. The Soldiers at that Time had won a little Cottage near the Bulwark, which did much Hurt to the poor Men : But one devised to roll down an huge Stone against the Cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the Soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroy'd, and strait they fled, and would never enter into it again.

THEN the Soldiers made certain Fences of Wood, five Foot long, three Foot broad, and of the Thickness of three Boards ; but they were so sore vexed with the Shot, that they were oblig'd to lay all those Fences aside. The Miners also made others of Earth for the Soldiers. But all these Policies of the Enemies availed nothing ; for the Slaughter was so great, that in divers Places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. GOD so wrought with the poor Christians, that the Shot of two Guns slew four Men. One Shot came so near the Lord of *Trinity's* Head, that it brake a Wand which he bare in his Hand ; and seeing his Soldiers murder'd and wounded in such Numbers on every Side, he wept bitterly. He then retired with the rest of his Army. He thought assuredly to have entred into the Meadow of *Toure* that Day. Many Gentlemen also came to see the Discomfiture of the poor *Waldoy's* ; and likewise those of the Plain looked for Nothing, but to hear
of

of their Desolation. But GOD dispos'd it otherwise; for the Lord of *Trinity* had much ado to save himself. They of the Plain also, when they saw the Number of the dead Bodies and the Wounded to be so great, were exceedingly dismay'd. The Soldiers themselves confessed to them of the Meadow of *Toure*, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain.

MANY marvelled why the People did not follow the Army, seeing the great Discomfiture; but this was done for two Causes. The one was, because they had already determined not to follow the Army being once retired, to avoid the Effusion of Blood, meaning only to defend themselves. The other Cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their Ammunition: For many of them had shot off about 30 Times, and none of them under 20. The rest of the Army retired, crying with a loud Voice: *GOD fighteth for them, and we do them Wrong.*

THE next Day one of the principal Captains of the Army surrendered his Charge to the Lord of *Trinity*, saying unto him, That he would never fight against that People more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous Thing, that in that Combat there were but two of the *Waldoyes* slain, and two hurt, Thro' the whole Country of *Piedmont*, every Man said, *GOD fighteth for them.* One of the Captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce Assaults, and sundry well-fought Battles, but yet he never saw Soldiers so amazed; yea, the Soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonish'd, that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this People never shot, but they hurt or killed some of the Soldiers. Indeed it is wonderful, and marvellous are the Judgments of GOD, that notwithstanding so many Combats,

so much and so terrible Shot, continually made against this poor People, yet all in a manner was to no Effect: Infomuch that, for all the said Combats and Conflicts, of the *Angrognians* there were but nine that miscarried, and the whole Number of those that were slain were only fourteen Persons.

AFTER that, the Lord of *Trinity* sent two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Lucerne* to them of *Angrogne*, to try if they would come to any Agreement. To whom Answer was made, that they would stand to their first Answer. From that Time he sent often to treat of the Agreement: But what his Meaning was might well appear. For when the poor People hoped for some Agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. At last there was a Day assigned in the Valley of *Lucerne*, to confer, and a safe Conduct was promised and granted. But the Night before, the Ministers and Rulers of *Angrogne* were to attend, they perceived a Company of Soldiers going up a Hill, by which they were to pass. These hid themselves in Houses by the Way Side, thinking to take the *Angrognians* who were sent to treat of the Agreement. But they, having Intelligence of this Conspiracy, set a Watch. It was an easy Matter that Night to have taken the Lord of *Trinity*, and spoiled his whole Camp. But the *Angrognians* and *Lucernians* would not do this, lest they should offend God.

AFTER this, the Lord of *Trinity*, having left certain Garrisons about *Angrogne* and the Valley of *Lucerne*, went to *Perouse* to succour the Garrison there, being in great Danger, and continued there a Month. During which Time they of *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Lucerne*, liv'd in more Quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted by reason of the Scarcity of Victuals; and especially

especially those of the Meadow of *Toure*, for they were spoiled of all. This poor People lived on Milk and Herbs, having very little Bread. But afterwards, when they were even like to be famish'd, GOD of his Goodness sent them better Succour. The Enemies thought to have taken the Meadow of *Toure* by Famine; for they took away the Victuals that were in all Places round about. Every Household was suffer'd to have no more than should sustain them that Day, that they might not succour this poor People.

AFTER that the Lord of *Trinity*, being returned from *Perouse* to *Lucerne*, sent certain to treat of an Agreement. But on *Monday* the 17th of *April*, by Break of Day, he sent certain Bands of *Spaniards*, with the Garrison of *Toure*, to the Mountain of *Tailleret*, by the Way which leadeth to the Meadow of *Toure* on the South Side. They murder'd Men, Women, and Children of *Tailleret*, whom they found in their Beds. Then they march'd along the Mountain, towards the Meadow of *Toure*. Anon the People perceived two other Companies of Soldiers, marching by *Angrogne* two several Ways, to assault the Meadow of *Toure*. In the Morning as soon as they rose they blew their Horns, for they saw the *Spaniards* already entred. When they had made their Prayers, every Man ran to meet the Enemies; some on the East-side, and the others on the South. They that first resisted the *Spaniards* (who were already past the Bulwarks) were in the Beginning but twelve Gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the Hill, and roll down great Stones. These twelve, having found a fit Place to stay the *Spaniards*, began to shoot at them. The *Spaniards* seeing themselves assaulted both above and beneath, and the Place so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same Way

which they came. The People chased them into their Camp, which was at *Toure*. As they fled, they often found some Forts, where they resisted for a little while, but they were always beaten out. This Combat was with great Slaughter of the *Spaniards*, also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

AMONGST others, there was one slain in that Battle, for whom the Lord of *Trinity* much lamented, saying: *That he would rather have lost a whole Band, than that Man.* The other two Companies, which march'd by *Angrogne*, perceiving the *Spaniards* to be so beaten, retired in Haste. Upon that, the Ld. of *Trinity* went to *Cavors*, three Miles from *Lucerne*, being in great Perplexity; and as he was about to send Succour to the *Spaniards*, he heard the Sound of a Drum above *Lucerne*, and suspected that there was an Army of the *Waldoys* coming against him. Upon this, divers of the Soldiers fled away by the Plain, crying: *All is lost.* If the *Waldoys* had pursu'd, as they easily might have done, the Camp had that Day been chased out of *Lucerne*. The poor People lacked no Courage to do so; for altho' they had neither eat nor drank all the Day before, and had so sore travell'd and fought, yet they said: *If they had but a Morsel of Bread, they durst take upon them to enter into the Camp of their Enemies.*

WITHIN a few Days, they of *Angrogne* were advertised by the Lord of *Trinity's* Letters, that he fully determin'd to cut down their Trees and Vines, and destroy their Corn on the Ground. The Day was assign'd, and Horsemen appointed, with all Speed to execute this. But GOD prevented it; for the Night before this should be executed, the Lord of *Trinity* receiv'd Letters from the Duke, which staid his Enterprize.

ABOUT

ABOUT this Season, the chief Rulers and Ministers of the *Waldos*, requested earnestly the Lord of *Raconis* to present a Supplication, which they had made to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*: For they had Intelligence, That ſhe was fore offended that her Subjects were ſo cruelly handled. In which Supplication they declar'd the Equity of their Cauſe, proteſting all due Obedience to the Duke, their Sovereign Lord, and humbly beſought her Grace to appeaſe the Diſpleaſure which the Duke had conceiv'd againſt them, by the falſe Surmiſes of their Adverſaries; and if there were any Thing wherein they had offended him, they moſt humbly craved his gracious Pardon.

AFTER this Supplication was view'd and read by the ſaid Dutcheſs, ſhe ſo perſuaded the Duke, that Answer was made with theſe Conditions, declar'd in the following Articles:

“ THAT Letters Patents ſhall ſhortly be made by the Duke's Highneſs, by which it may appear, that he hath pardon'd them of the Vallies of *Angrogne*, *Boby*, *Villars*, *Valquichard*, *Rora*, *Tailleret*, *La Rua de Bonet*, *St. Martin*, *Perouſe*, *Roccapiaſa*, *St. Bartholomew*, and all ſuch as have aided them, of all ſuch Faults as they have committed, as well in bearing Arms againſt his Highneſs, as againſt the Lords and certain other Gentlemen whom he retain'd and kept in his Protection.

“ THAT it ſhall be lawfull for them to have their Congregations, Sermons, and other Miniſteries of their Religion in Places accuſtomed.

“ THAT it ſhall not be lawfull for them to come to any other of his Highneſs's Dominions, nor to have their Preachings, or Diſputations, out of their own Borders. And if they be examin'd

of their Faith, it shall be lawfull for them to answer without Danger of Punishment in Body or Goods.

“ IT shall be permitted to all them of the Towns and Villages of the said Vallies, who, at this present are fled, and continue in the said Religion, notwithstanding any Promise or Abjuration made before this War, to return to their Houses with their Households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the Sermons, and Assemblies which shall be made by their Ministers.

“ THE Goods already seized as forfeit, shall be restor'd to all the Inhabitants of the said Vallies, and to all that are fled, and continue in the said Religion.

“ IT shall be lawful for them to recover, by Way of Justice, of their Neighbours, their moveable Goods and Cattle; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by Way of Justice, so they restore the Price for which it hath been sold.

“ ALL the Fredoms and Privileges, as well general as particular, granted by his Highness's Predecessors, or by himself, whereof they shall make Proof, by publick Writing, shall be confirm'd unto them.

“ AND, as it is known to every Man, that the Prince may build Fortresses in his Country, where it shall please him, without Contradiction; nevertheless, to take all Suspicion out of the Minds of the *Waldos*, it is declar'd, That if at any Time hereafter, his Highness should make a Fort of *Villars*, the Inhabitants of the said Place shall not be constrain'd to bear the Charges, but only as they shall

shall think good, lovingly to aid their Prince. Which Fort being builded, a Captain shall be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the Service of his Highness, without Offence to the Inhabitants, either in their Goods or Consciences.

“ IT shall be lawful for them, before the Discharging of their Ministers, such as it shall please his Highness to have discharged, to chuse others in their Stead.

“ THE Mass shall be kept in all the Parishes of the Vallies, where the Sermons, Assemblies, and other Ministeries of their Religion are made; but none shall be compell'd to be present thereat, nor to aid or favour such as shall use that Service.

“ ALL the Expences borne by his Highness in this War, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever. And his Highness will command that the Writings for that Cause made, shall be annulled and cancell'd.

“ ALL the Prisoners shall be restor'd, which shall be found in the Hands of the Soldiers, paying a reasonable Ransom, according to their Goods; and those which shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be releas'd without Ransom.

“ FINALLY, It shall be lawfull for all them of the said Vallies, of what Degree, Estate, and Condition soever, (except Ministers) to dwell, and daily converse with the Rest of his Highness's Subjects, and to tarry, go and come, to sell and buy, and use all Trades of Merchandizes, in his Highness's Country: And in so doing, they shall not be molested by any Means, in Body or Goods; but shall remain under the Protection of his Highness.

“ FOR

“ FOR Observation hereof, *George Monastier*, one of the Elders of *Angrogne*; *Constantion Dialestini*, one of the Elders of *Villars*; *Pirrone Arduino*, sent from *Boby*; *Michael Raymondet*, sent from *Tailleret*, and of *La Rua de Bouet*, bordering upon *Toure*; *John Malenote*, sent from *St. John*; *Peter Paschall*, sent from the Valley of *St. Martin*; and *Thomas Romam*, of *St. Germaine*, promise for them and their Communities severally, that the Contents of these Conclusions shall be inviolably kept, and for Breach thereof, do submit themselves to such Punishment as shall please his Highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the Families to allow and confirm the said Promise.

“ THE Hon. Lord of *Raconis* doth promise, That the Duke's Highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid Conclusions, at the Intercession and special Favour of the noble Lady, the Princess.

“ IN Testimony whereof, the aforesaid Lord of *Raconis* hath confirm'd these present Conclusions with his own Hand; and the Ministers have likewise subscribed, in the Name of all the Vallies; and they which can write, in the Name of all their Communities.”

At Cavor, the Fifth Day of June, 1561.

Philip of Savoy.

Francis Valla, Minister of *Villars*.

Claudius Bergius, Minister of *Tailleret*.

Georgius Monasterius.

Michael Raymondet.

THIS Accord being thus made and passed, by Means of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, the poor *Waldoy*s have been in Quiet untill now. And GOD of his infinite Goodness, having deliver'd them out of so many Troubles, hath set them at Liberty to serve Him purely, and with Quietness of Conscience.

THE



THE MARTYRDOMS

O F

Mrs. *Smith*, Widow; *Robert Hatches*,
 — *Archer*, — *Hawkins*, and
Thomas Bond, Shoe-makers; —
Wrigsham, a Glover; — *Landsale*,
 a Hofier; and *Robert Silkeb*.

THE principal Cause of their being apprehended, was, The Teaching of their Children and Family the LORD's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English: For this they were taken up on *Ash-wednesday* and put in Prison; some in Places under Ground, and some in Chambers, 'till the *Friday* following.

THEN they were sent to a Monastery, called *Mackstock* Abbey, six Miles from *Coventry*. During which Time, their Children was sent for to appear before the Warden of the Grey-Friars, in *Coventry*; who straightly charged them, upon Pain of suffering such Death as their Fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the LORD's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

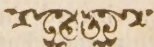
UPON

UPON *Palm Sunday*, the Fathers of these Children, were brought back again to *Coventry*, and condemn'd to be burnt.

ONLY Mrs. *Smith* was dismissed for the present, and sent away. And because it was Evening, and somewhat dark, *Simon Mourton*, the Sumner, offer'd to go Home with her. As he was leading her by the Arm, he heard the Ratling of a Scroll within her Sleeve; *Hey*, saith he, *What have you here?* And so took it from her, and saw it was the LORD's Prayer, the Articles of Belief, and the Ten Commandments in English. When the Sumner heard this; *Ah! Sirrah*, said he, *Come, as good now as another Time*; and so brought her back again to the Bishop, where she was immediately Condemn'd, and so burnt with the six Men before named, *April 4, 1519.*

IN the same Number, was also *Robert Silke*, who when these were apprehended, fled away, and for that Time escaped. But about two Years after, he was taken and brought to *Coventry*, where he was burnt the Morrow after he came thither, which was *Janunry 14, 1521.*

WHEN the People began to Murmur, concerning the Cruelty shewed upon these poor Martyrs, and their unjust Death, the Bishop with his Officers and Priests, caused it to be noised abroad, that they were not burnt for having the LORD's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they eat Flesh on *Fridays*, and other Fast Days.





THE
MARTYRDOM
OF
THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY, was brought up in the University of *Cambridge*, from a Child, profiting in all Kind of liberal Sciences, even unto the Profession of both Laws. But at the last having gotten a better School-master, even the Holy Spirit of *Christ*, who endued his Heart, by his Inspiration, with the Knowledge of better Things; forsaking the Knowledge of Man's Laws, he converted his Study to those Things, which tended to Godliness.

AND, as he himself was greatly inflam'd with the Love of True Religion, so he had an incredible Desire to allure many to the same; desiring nothing more, than to encourage any to the Love of *Christ*. Neither were his Labours vain; for he converted many of his Followers to the Knowledge of the Gospel, amongst which Number, was *Thomas*

mas Arthur, and *Mr. Hugh Latimer*; which *Latimer*, at that Time, was Cross-Keeper at *Cambridge*, bringing it forth upon Procession-Days. At last *Bilney* forsaking the University, went into many Places, Teaching and Preaching, with *Arthur*, who accompany'd him from the University. The Authority of *Thomas Wolfey*, at that Time was great, but his Pride and Pomp much greater. Whereupon *Bilney*, marvelling at the incredible Insolence of the Clergy, began to reprove this excessive Pomp and also to pluck at the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*.

IT was now Time for the Cardinal to awake; who thought Good speedily to withstand these Beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said *Bilney* and *Arthur* to be apprehended, and cast into Prison.

AFTER several Examinations, both *Mr. Arthur* and *Bilney*, were at length prevail'd upon to abjure. But from this Time, *Mr. Bilney* had no Rest in his Spirit, 'till he was on the Brink of utter Despair; so vehemently was he pierced with Sorrow and Remorse, for almost two Years; from the Year 1529, to 1531. Then he, by GOD's Grace, came at length to some Quiet of Conscience, and was resolv'd to give his Life for the Confession of that Truth, which he had before renounc'd. Accordingly, he took his Leave of certain of his Friends in *Trinity-Hall*, at Ten o'Clock at Night, and said: *That he would go to Jerusalem*; alluding to the Words of *Christ* going to *Jerusalem*, and immediately he departed to *Norfolk*; and there preached first privily in Houses, to confirm the Brethren and Sisters, whom he had converted to *Christ*. Then he preach'd openly in the Fields, confessing his Fact, and publickly taught the Doctrine, which
he

he had before abjur'd; and willed all Men to take Warning by him, and never trust their fleshly Friends in Cases of Religion. And so, going forward on his Journey, he departed from thence to *Norwich*, where he was apprehended, and carry'd to Prison.

IN the mean Season, the Friars, with their Doctors, Civil and Canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him, not to die in those Opinions, saying: *He should be damn'd Body and Soul if he did.* Among whom the Bishop sent to him, first Dr. *Call*, Provincial of the *Gray-Friars*, and Dr. *Stokes*, an *Augustine-Friar*, who lay with him in Prison, 'till the Writ came, that he should be burn'd. Dr. *Call*, by the Word of GOD, thro' the Means of *Bilney's* Doctrine and good Life, was reclaim'd to the Gospel's Side. But *Bilney*, as he had planted himself upon the firm Rock of GOD's Word, so continu'd unto the End.

AFTER his Examination and Condemnation before Dr. *Pelles*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, he first was degraded, and then committed to the Lay-Power, and to the two Sheriffs of the City, of whom *Thomas Neeton* was one. This *Neeton* was *Bilney's* special Friend. But such was the Tyranny of that Time, that he could do no otherwise, but receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear to be present at his Death; so, for the Time that he was in his Custody, he caused him to be more friendly look'd to, than he was before.

AFTER this, the *Friday* following at Night, Mr. *Bilney* had divers of his Friends resorted unto him in the *Guild-hall*, where he was kept. One of whom, finding him taking some Food, with a chearful Heart and quiet Mind, said: *That he was*
VOL. IV. H glad

glad to see him so heartily refresh himself, so shortly before his painful Departure. He answer'd: *I follow the Example of the Husbandmen of the Country, who having a ruinous House to dwell in, bestow Cost to hold it up, as long as they can; so do I now refresh this ruinous House of my Body, with GOD's Creatures, in Thanks to Him, as ye see.* Then having some godly Talk with his Friends, One put him in Mind, "That though the Fire, which he should suffer the next Day, should be of great Heat unto his Body, yet the Comfort of GOD's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting Refreshing." At this Word putting his Hand to the Flame of the Candle, (as he had done many Times before) and feeling the Heat thereof: *O (said he) I feel by Experience, and have known it long by Philosophy, that Fire by GOD's Ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by GOD's holy Word, and by the Experience of some, spoken of therein, that they felt no Heat in the Flame; and I constantly believe, however the Stubble of this Body shall be wasted by it, yet my Soul and Spirit shall be purged thereby; a Pain for the Time, followed by Joy unspeakable.* And here he much treated of this Place in Scripture: *Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy Name, thou art Mine. When thou goest through the Water I will be with thee, and the Floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the Fire, it shall not burn thee, and the Flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the LORD thy GOD, the Holy One of Israel.*

On Saturday, when the Officers (as the Manner is) with their Halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the Place of Execution, which was *Bishop's-Gate*, in a low Valley, called, *The Lollards Pit*, under *St. Leonard's-Hill*, environ'd about with great Hills, (which Place was chosen for the People's Quiet, sitting to see the Execution) at his coming out of the Prison-Door, one of his

Friends

Friends came to him, and with few Words, pray-
ed him, in GOD's Behalf, to be constant. He an-
swered: *Ye see when the Mariner is enter'd his Ship
to sail on the troubled Sea, he is tossed for a-while on
the Billows, but yet hopes to come to the quiet Ha-
ven: So I now hope, that whatsoever Storms I shall
feel, yet my Ship shall soon be in the Haven; I doubt
not thereof by the Grace of GOD, desiring you to help
me with your Prayers.*

HE then went forth, accompany'd with one
Dr. Warner, whom he chose, as his old Acquain-
tance, to be with him for his Ghostly Comfort.
He gave much Alms, as he pass'd along. At last he
came to the Place of Execution, apparell'd in a
Lay-man's Gown, with his Arms out, his Hair
being piteously mangled at his Degradation. When
he drew near to the Stake, while the Fire was pre-
paring, he spake thus to the People:

*GOOD People, I am come hither to die, and I
was born to die; and that ye might testify that I de-
part this Life, as a true Christian, in a right Belief
towards Almighty GOD, I will rehearse to you, in a
stedfast Faith, the Articles of my Creed.* Then he
began to rehearse them in Order, oft lifting up his
Eyes and Hands to GOD, and at the Article of
Christ's Incarnation, having a little Meditation in
himself, and coming to the Word *Crucified*, he
humbly bowed himself, and made Reverence; and
so he proceeded, without any Words of Recan-
tation, or charging any Man for procuring his
Death.

THIS done, he put off his Gown, and went to
the Stake, and kneeled upon a little Ledge com-
ing out of the Stake, whereon he should afterward
stand to be better seen, he made his private Pray-
er with earnest Elevation of his Eyes and Hands

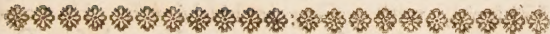
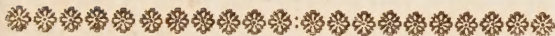
to Heaven. He ended his Prayers with the 143^d Psalm, beginning thus: *Hear my Prayer, O LORD, consider my Desire:* The next Verse, he repeated in deep Meditation thrice; *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy Sight shall no Man living be justified.*

AFTER that, turning to the Officers, he asked them, If they were ready? They answer'd, Yes. Whereupon he put off his Jacket and Doublet, and in his Hose and Shirt went to the Stake, and standing there upon the Ledge, the Chain was cast about him. As he stood there Dr. Warner came to bid him Farewell; who spake but few Words for weeping. Mr. Bilney gently Smiling upon him, inclin'd his Body to speak to him a few Words of Thanks; and the last were these: *Doctor, Feed your Flock! Feed your Flock! that when the LORD cometh, He may find you so doing. Good Doctor, farewell, and pray for me.*

WHILE he thus stood upon the Ledge, certain Friars came to him, and said: *O Master Bilney, the People are persuaded that we have procured your Death, and therefore it is likely they will withdraw their charitable Alms from us all, except you declare your Charity towards us.* Whereupon he spake with a loud Voice to the People, and said: *I pray you, good People, be never the worse to these Men for my Sake, as though they were the Authors of my Death; it was not they.*

THEN the Officers put Reeds and Faggots about his Body, and set Fire to the Reeds, which making a very great Flame, sparkled and deform'd his Face. He holding up his Hands, smote upon his Breast, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *I believe.* But the Flame was thrice blown away from him by the Violence of the Wind; and for a little

le Pause he stood without Flame. At length the Wood took Fire, and burnt more fiercely, and he soon gave up the Ghost; and his Body, being withered, bowed downward upon the Chain. Then one of the Officers with his Halbert, smote out the Staple, in the Stake behind him, and let his Body fall into the Bottom of the Fire, and so he was consumed.





T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

RICHARD BAYFIELD.

RICHARD BAYFIELD, sometime a Monk of *Bury*, was converted by Dr. *Barns*, and two godly Men of *London*, Brick-makers, Mr. *Maxwell*, and Mr. *Stacy*, Wardens of their Company: Who were grafted in the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, and converted many Men and Women, both in *London*, and in the Country: and once a Year, at their own Cost, went about to visit the Brethren and Sisters scatter'd abroad. He prosper'd so mightily in two Years Space, that he was cast into the Prison of his House, and there sorely Whipp'd, with a Gag in his Mouth. He continued there three Quarters of a Year, before Dr. *Barns* could get him out; with whom he afterwards went to *Cambridge*. He had not been there long, before he tasted so well of good Letters, that he never return'd to his Abbey, but went to *London*, to *Maxwell* and *Stacy*, and they kept him secretly a While, and then conveyed him beyond the Sea.

Sea. This *Bayfield* mightily prospered in the Knowledge of GOD, and was beneficial to Mr. *Tindal*, and Mr. *Frith*; for he brought Substance with him, and sold all their Works, both in *France* and *England*. At last coming to *London*, to Mr. *Smith's* House in *Bucklers-Bury*, he was taken and carried to *Lollards* Tower, and from thence to the *Coal-house*, where he was worse handled than he was before, in the *Lollards* Tower. He was tied both by the Neck, Middle, and Legs, standing Upright by the Walls, divers Times manacled, in order to force him to accuse others, that had bought his Books; yet he accused none, but stood to his Confession of Faith, even to the End. He was in the Consistory of *Paul's*, thrice put to his Trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said, *He would Dispute for his Faith*, and so he did to their Shame.

ON *Monday, November 20, 1531*, the Bishop of *London*, pronounced Sentence against him, in the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*. And when he had Degraded him, kneeling upon the highest Step of the Altar, he took his Crosier Staff, and smote him on the Breast, so that he threw him down backwards, and brake his Head, so that he swoon'd. When he came to himself, he thanked GOD, *that he was delivered from the Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true Church of Jesus Christ, militant, here on Earth; and I trust, anon, said he, to be in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church Triumphant for ever.* He was then led forth through the Choir, to *Newgate*, and there rested about an Hour in Prayer, and so went to the Fire in his Apparel, manfully and joyfully. For lack of a speedy Fire, he continued half an Hour alive. And when the left Arm was burnt, he rubb'd it with his right Hand, and it fell from his Body. He then continued in Prayer to the End, without moving.



T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

JAMES BAINHAM.

JAMES BAINHAM, a Gentleman of *Gloucestershire*, being virtuously brought up by his Parents, had Knowledge both of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongue. After that he gave himself to the Study of the Law, being a Man of virtuous Disposition, and godly Conversation, mightily addicted to Prayer, an earnest Reader of Scriptures, a great Maintainer of the Godly, a Visiter of Prisoners, liberal to Scholars, very merciful to his Clients, using Equity and Justice to the Poor, very diligent in giving Counsel to all the Needy, Widows, Fatherless and Afflicted, without Money or Reward.

HAVING been long suspected of, what they call, Heresy, he was at last accused to Sir *Tho. More*, arrested by a Serjeant at Arms, and carry'd out of the *Middle-Temple* to the Chancellor's House at *Chelsea*, where he continued in free Prison a while, 'till Sir *Thomas* saw he could not pervert him. He then

then cast him into Prison in his own House, and after whipping him at a Tree in his Garden, call'd *The Tree of Troth*, he sent him to the *Tower* to be rack'd; which was done in his Presence, in such a Manner that he lamed him, because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the *Temple*, his Acquaintance.

AFTER they had thus tortured him, he was brought before *John Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, on the 15th of *December*, 1531. He then boldly confessed the Truth. But by little and little he was so shaken, that on *February* the 5th, 1532, he read an Abjuration thereof, before the Bishop and Sir *Thomas More*, and subscribed it with his own Hand.

THE Chancellor receiving the Abjuration, sentenced him first to pay Twenty Pounds to the King: After that to go before the Cross in Procession to *St. Paul's*, and to stand before the Preacher during the Sermon, with a Faggot upon his Shoulder, the next *Sunday*, and so to return with the Sumner to Prison again, there to abide the Bishop's Determination. *February* 17, he was released and sent Home. Where he had scarce been a Month, but he bewailed his Abjuration, and was never quiet in his Mind 'till he had uttered his Fall to all his Acquaintance, and asked God, and all the World, Forgiveness before the Congregation in *Bow-lane*. The next *Sunday* he came to *St. Austin's*, with the New Testament in his Hand, and standing up before the People, declared openly, with Weeping, That he had denied God, and prayed all the People to forgive him, and not to do as he had done: *For if I should not return again to the Truth, this Word of God* (said he, holding the New Testament in his Hand) *would damn me both Body and Soul at the Day of Judgment.* Then he prayed every

every Body rather to die than to do as he had done: *For (said he) I would not feel such a Hell again, as I have felt, for all the World's Good.* He also wrote to the Bishop, to his Brother, and to others; so that he was shortly after apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*.

ON the 26th of *April*, *John Foxford*, Vicar-General to the Bishop of *London*, pronounc'd and condemn'd him as a relapsed Heretick, damnably fallen into sundry Heresies, and so to be left to the Secular Power. After Sentence given, he was delivered into the Hands of Sir *Richard Gresham*, Sheriff, then present, who caused him by his Officers to be carried to *Newgate*.

DURING his Imprisonment he was cruelly handled. For almost a Fortnight he lay in the Stocks in the Bishop's Coal-House, with Irons upon his Legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellor's and there chain'd to a Post two Nights. Then he was carry'd to *Fulham*, where he was cruelly handled for a Fortnight. Then to the *Tower*, where he lay a Fortnight, scourged with Whips, to make him revoke his Opinions. From thence he was carried to *Barking*, then to *Chelsea*, and there condemned, and so to *Newgate*; and from thence to *Smithfield* to be burned, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, *April 30, 1532.*

It is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the Stake in the Midst of the flaming Fire, which had half consumed his Arms and Legs, he spake these Words: *O ye Papists, behold, ye look for Miracles, and here now you may see a Miracle; for in this Fire I feel no more Pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down: It is to me as a Bed of Roses.*



THE

MARTYRDOM

OF

John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

JOHN FRITH began his Study at *Cambridge*. He had a wonderful Promptness of Wit, and a ready Capacity to receive and understand any Thing; neither was there any Diligence wanting in him, whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a Lover of Learning, but also an exquisite learned Man. In which when he had laboured certain Years, at last he fell into Acquaintance with *William Tindal*, thro' whose Instructions he first received the Seed of the Gospel and sincere Godliness into his Heart.

At this Time *Thomas Wolfey* was preparing to build a College in *Oxford*, now named *Christ's-Church*, and called thither all such Men as were found to excell in any Kind of Learning and Knowledge. Among these was *John Frith*. Who conferring together upon the Abuses of Religion, were accused of Heresy to the Cardinal, and cast into a Prison, within a deep Cave under the Ground

Ground of the same College where their Salt Fish was laid; so that through the filthy Stench thereof they were all infected, and several of them died.

AFTER the Death of these, *John Frith*, with others, was dismissed out of Prison by the Cardinal's Letter, who sent Word that he would not have them so straitly handled. *Frith* went over the Sea, and after two Years came over to the Prior of *Reading*.

BEING at *Reading*, he was taken for a Vagabond, and set in the Stocks. Where after he had sat a long Time, and was almost pined with Hunger, he desired that the School-master of the Town might be brought to him, which was one *Leonard Cox*, a Man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, *Frith* began, in the *Latin* Tongue, to bewail his Captivity.

THE School-master did not only take Pity upon him, but began to love such an excellent Wit and Disposition unlook'd for, especially in such a State. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many Things, fell from the *Latin* into the *Greek*. When the School-master heard him rehearse *Homer's* Verses so promptly by Heart, he greatly admired him: Whereupon he went with all Speed to the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the Injuries done to so excellent a young Man. Thus *Frith*, thro' the Help of the School-master, was set at Liberty.

BUT his Safety continued not long, Sir *Thomas Moore* persecuted him both by Sea and Land, besetting all the Ways and Havens, and promising great Rewards, if any Man would bring him any News or Tidings of him, while *Frith* being beset on every Side, and not knowing which Way to
turn,

turn, fought for some Place to hide him; fleeing from one Place to another, and often changing both his Garments and Place, yet could be in Safety no where, no not amongst his Friends. At last, being traiterously taken, he was sent to the *Tower of London*.

ON the 20th of *June*, he was brought before the Bishops of *London, Winchester, and Lincoln*, who were sitting in *St. Paul's*. These put to him certain Interrogatories upon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatory. To which, when he had answer'd, he afterward subscribed his Answers with his own Hand, in these Words.

I FRITH think thus; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and publish'd in my Books.

WHEN he could not be persuaded to recant, he was condemn'd to be burnt, by the Bishop of *London*.

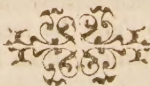
THE Bishop of *London* then directed his Letter to Sir *Stephen Peacock*, Mayor, and to the Sheriffs of *London*, for the Receiving of him. The 4th of *July*, 1553, he was carried by them into *Smithfield*, and tied to the Stake, which he embraced with great Joy. The Wind blowing the Flame from him to *Andrew Hewet*, who was tied to his Back, made his Death somewhat the longer; but, as if he had felt no Pain, he seemed rather to rejoice for his Companion, than to be careful for himself.

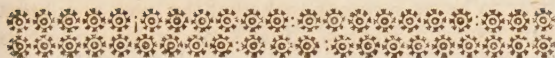
THIS truly is the Power and Strength of *Christ*, conquering in his Saints. May He sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all Things to the Glory of His most holy Name! *Amen!*

ANDREW HEWET, born at *Feversham* in *Kent*, a young Man 24 Years old, an Apprentice to a Taylor in *Watling-street*, was he that was burned with *John Frith*.

THE 20th of *April*, the Bishop of *London*, with the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, called him before them. Being demanded what he thought touching the Sacrament of the LORD'S-SUPPER; he answer'd: *I think as John Frith doth*. Then the Bishops smiled at him; and *Stokesley*, Bishop of *Lincoln* said: *Why, Frith is an Heretick, and already condemn'd to be burn'd; and except thou revoke thine Opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him*. Truly (said he) *I am content therewith*. The Bishops used many Persuasions to allure this good Man from the Truth, to follow them; but he, manfully persisting in the Truth, would not recant. Wherefore he was carried into *Smithfield* with *Frith*, and there burned.

WHEN they were at the Stake, one Dr. *Cook*, a Parson in *London*, openly admonished all the People, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would for a Dog. At which Words *Frith* smiling, desired the LORD to forgive them. Thus these two blessed Martyrs committed their Souls into the Hands of God.





THE

MARTYRDOM

OF

THOMAS BENET.

THOMAS BENET was born in *Cambridge*, and had the Degree of Master of Arts, in that University. He was a Man well learned, and of a godly Disposition, an Acquaintance of *Thomas Bilney*. The more he grew in the Knowledge of GOD and his holy Word, the more he abhor'd the corrupt State of Religion then used; and therefore thinking his own Country to be no safe Place for him, and being desirous to live in more Freedom of Conscience, he left the University, and went into *Devonshire*, in the Year 1524, and dwelt first in a Market Town, call'd *Torrington*. He there kept a School, for the better Maintenance of himself and his Wife. But that Town not serving his Expectation, after one Year, he came to *Exeter*, and hiring a House there, in a Street, called the *Butcher-row*, he taught School for his Livelihood. He was of a quiet Behaviour, of a

godly Conversation, and of a very courteous Nature, humble to all Men. His greatest Delight was to be at Sermons, whereof he was a diligent and attentive Hearer. The Time which he had to spare from Teaching, he gave wholly to his private Study in the Scriptures, having no Conference with any Body, but such only, as he found were zealous of GOD's true Religion.

BUT as every Tree hath its due Time to bring forth Fruit, so did it appear by this Man. For he daily seeing the Glory of GOD so blasphemed, and the Bishop of *Rome* so extoll'd, was so troubled in Spirit, that he could not be quiet 'till he utter'd his Mind therein. Wherefore he told certain of his Friends, he could no longer endure, but must needs expose their Abominations, and for the Testimony of his Conscience, and the Defence of GOD's true Religion, would yield himself, to shed his Blood therein; alledging, that his Death would be more profitable to the Church of GOD, and more for the Edifying of his People, than his Life. To whose Perswasions, when his Friends had yielded, they promised to pray to GOD for him, that he might be strong in the Cause, and continue a faithful Soldier to the End. Which done, in *October*, he wrote his Mind thus upon several Scrolls of Paper, *The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship GOD only, and no Saints.* These he fixt upon the Doors of the Cathedral Church.

THESE Bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little Search made for the Heretick that set them up. But not being able to discover him, the Bishop proceeded to Curse him, with Bell, Book and Candle, in Manner and Form following:

BY

B*Y the Authority of GOD the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy Saints, we Excommunicate, we utterly Curse and Ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have in Spite of GOD and of St. Peter, whose Church this is, in Spite of all holy Saints, and in Spite of our most holy Father, the Pope, GOD's Vicar here on Earth, fixed up with Wax, such cursed and heretical Bills, full of Blasphemy, upon the Doors of this, and other holy Churches within this City. Accursed may they be, and given Body and Soul to the Devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in Cities and Towns, in Fields, in Ways, in Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all other Places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever Thing they do besides. We give them utterly over to the Power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls, if they be dead, this Night in the Pains of Hell Fire, as this Candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the Candles:) and let us pray to GOD (if they be alive) that their Eyes may be put out, as the Light of this Candle is, (so he put out the other Candle:) and let us pray to GOD, and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy Saints, that all the Senses of their Body may fail them, and that they may have no Feeling, as now the Light of this Candle is gone (and so he put out a third Candle) except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their Blasphemy, and by Repentance (as in them shall lie) make Satisfaction unto GOD, our Lady, St. Peter, and the Worshipful Company of this Cathedral Church; and as this holy Cross Staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent, and shew themselves; and, one first taking away the Cross, the Staff fell down.*

BENET could now no longer forbear, but fell to great Laughter, and for a Space could not cease. Those that were next to him, asked, *For what Cause he should Laugh so.* My Friends, said he, *who can forbear?* Straightway a Noise was made, *Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him fast, hold him fast.* Yet he escaped to his House. Where, not able being to digest the Lies there preached, he renew'd his former Bills, and caused his Boy, early in the Morning following, to set them upon the Gates of the Church-yard. As the Boy was setting up one of the Bills, one going to hear a Mass, (which was then daily said about five in the Morning) found the Boy at the Gate, and pulling down the Bill, brought the same, together with the Boy, before the Mayor of the City, and thereupon, Benet being known and taken, was committed to Ward.

ON the Morrow, the Canons and Heads of the City met: to whom he answered, *It was I that put up those Bills, and would do it again; for I have written nothing in them but Truth. Couldst not thou,* said they, *as well have declared thy Mind by Mouth, as by putting up Bills of Blasphemy?* No, said he, *I put up the Bills, that many should read and hear what abominable Blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the Pope. If I had been heard to speak but one Word, I should have been clapped fast in Prison, and the Matter hidden; but now I trust more of your Doings will come to Light; for GOD will no longer suffer you.*

THE next Day after, he was sent to the Bishop, committed him to a Prison, called *the Bishop's Prison*, where he was kept in Stocks and strong Irons. Then the Bishop, with his Clergy, began to examine him, and he answered in such a sober Manner, and so learnedly proved his Assertions, that he

he not only confounded his Adversaries, but also brought them greatly to admire him. The Friars took great Pains to perswade him, to recant and acknowledge his Fault, touching the Bills; but GOD had appointed him to be a blessed Witness of his holy Name, and to bid Defiance to all their Perswasions.

Look (said he) *where they are, that confess the true Name of Jesus Christ, and where Christ only is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, to order all Bishops, Ministers and Preachers, and to see them do their Duties in setting forth the Glory of GOD only, by preaching his Word; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator and Patron before GOD his Father, making Intercession for us, and where the true Faith and Confidence in Christ's Death and Passion, and his only Merits and Deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the Sacrament is duly administered without Superstition or Idolatry, in Remembrance of his blessed Passion, and only Sacrifice upon the Cross once for all, and where no Superstition reigneth, of that Church will I be.*

THEN stept to him a Grey-Friar, and laid before him great and many Dangers. *I take GOD to Record, (said Benet) my Life is not dear to me. I am content to depart from it, seeing your detestable Doings to the utter Destruction of GOD's Flock. And for my Part, I can no longer forbear. I had rather by Death (which I know is not far off) depart this Life, that I may no longer behold your detestable Idolatries and Superstitions, or be subject unto Antichrist, your Pope. Our Pope (said the Friar) is the Vicar of GOD, and our Ways are the Ways of GOD. I pray you, (said Benet) depart from me, and tell me not of your Ways. He only is my Way, which saith, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. In this Way*
will

will I walk; his Doings shall be my Example; not yours, nor your false Popes. His Truth will I embrace, not the Lies and Falshood of you and your Pope. His everlasting Life will I seek, the true Reward of all faithful People. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my Soul no longer. Ye shall not prevail. There is no good Example in you; no Truth in you; no Life to be hoped for at your Hands. Ye are all more vain than Vanity it self. If I should hear and follow you, everlasting Death would hang over me; a just Reward for all them that love the Life of this World. Away from me, your Company liketh me not.

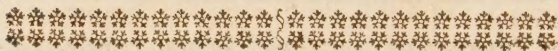
A WHOLE Week, Night and Day, he was applied to by them. Mean Time, being in Prison, his Wife provided Sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many godly Exhortations, and prayed her, not to move him to yield to his Adversaries.

WHEN they had done what they could, and perceiv'd, that he would by no Means relent, then they proceeded to Judgment, condemning him, (as the Manner is, to be burnt. The Writ being brought from London, they delivered him to Sir Thomas Denis, Knight, then Sheriff of Devonshire, to be burnt, Jan. 15, 1531. The mild Martyr, glad that his End was so near, yielded himself as the Sheep before the Shearer. And being brought to his Execution, in a Place called *Livery-dole*, without *Exeter*, he made his most humble Confession and Prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the People to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such Gravity and Sobriety, to seek the true Honour of God, and the true Knowledge of him, and to leave the Imagination of Man's Invention, that all that heard and saw him were astonished and in great Admiration. The most Part of the People, as also the Scribe who wrote the Sentence of Con-

Condemnation against him, confess'd that he was God's Servant, and a good Man.

NEVERTHELESS, two Esquires, namely, *Thomas Carew* and *John Barnehouse*, standing at the Stake by him, first with fair Promises, but at length, with Threatnings, willed him to revoke his Errors, and to call upon our Lady and the Saints, To whom he answered with all Meekness, *No, no, it is GOD only upon whose Name we must call, and we have no other Advocate, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right Hand of the Father; and by Him we must offer and make our Prayers to GOD, if we would have them heard.* Barnehouse, was so enraged at this, that he took a Furze-bush upon a Pike, and being set on Fire, thrust it unto his Face, saying, *Ah! thou Whoreson Heretick, pray to our Lady, or, by GOD's Wounds, I will make thee do it.* To whom, he meekly answered, *Alas! Sir, trouble me not.* And holding up his Hands, he said, *Father, forgive them.* Whereupon, the Gentlemen caused the Wood to be set on Fire, and therewith this godly Man lifted up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, saying, *O LORD, receive my Spirit.* And so continuing in Prayer, never stirr'd nor strove, 'till his Life was ended.





T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

WILLIAM TINDAL.

WILLIAM TINDAL was born about the Borders of *Wales*, and brought up from a Child in the University of *Oxford*, where he increased in the Knowledge of Tongues, and liberal Arts, and especially in the Knowledge of the Scriptures; insomuch that he read privily to certain Students and Fellows of *Magdalen College*, instructing them in the Knowledge and Truth of the Scriptures. Whose Manners and Conversation were such, that all they that knew him, esteemed him a Man of most virtuous Disposition, and of unspotted Life.

He removed from thence to the University of *Cambridge*; where, after he had made his Abode a certain Space, being now further ripened in the Knowledge of God's Word, he resorted to one Mr. *Welch*, a Knight of *Gloucestershire*, and was there School-master to his Children. To this Gentleman there often resorted sundry Abbots, Deans, Arch-

Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors and benefited Men; who, sitting at the Table with Mr. *Tindal*, used frequently to talk of learned Men, as of *Luther* and *Erasmus*; also of divers other Controversies and Questions upon the Scripture.

Mr. TINDAL spared not to shew unto them, simply and plainly his Judgment; and when they varied from him in Opinion, he would lay before them the manifest Places of the Scriptures, to confute their Errors, and confirm his Sayings. And thus continued they for a Season, reasoning and contending together, 'till at length they bore a secret Grudge against him.

AT that Time he was about the Translation of a Book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which being translated, he deliver'd to his Master and Lady. After they had read it, the Prelates were not so often called to the House, neither had they the same Countenance when they came. They, supposing this came by the Means of Mr. *Tindal*, refrained themselves, and at last, utterly withdrew, and came no more.

NOT long after, there was a Sitting appointed by the Bishop's Chancellor, and Warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Mr. *Tindal* was also warned to be there. Whether he had any Misdoubt by their Threatnings, or Knowledge given him that they would lay some Things to his Charge, it is uncertain; but this is certain, that by the Way, he cry'd heartily to GOD, to give him Strength to stand in the Truth of his Word.

WHEN the Time came, the Chancellor threatened him grievously, and laid to his Charge many Things, whereof no Witness could be produc'd; notwithstanding the Priests of the Country were present.

present. And thus Mr. *Tindal*, escaping out of their Hands, returned to his Master again.

NOT far off dwelt a certain Doctor, who had been Chancellor to a Bishop, an old familiar Acquaintance with Mr. *Tindal*. Unto him Mr. *Tindal* went, for he durst be bold to disclose his Heart to him. The Doctor said: *Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that Opinion, it will cost you your Life. I have been an Officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his Works.*

NOT long after, Mr. *Tindal* was in Company with a certain Divine, and in a Dispute with him, he drove him to that Issue, that the Doctor burst out into these Words: *We were better to be without GOD's Law., than the Pope's.* Mr. *Tindal* hearing this, full of godly Zeal, reply'd: *I defy the Pope and all his Laws; and further added: That if GOD spared him Life, he would, e're many Years, cause a Boy that driveth the Plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.*

AFTER this the Grudge of the Priests increasing, Mr. *Tindal* was constrain'd to leave that Country. Thence he came to *London*, and preach'd awhile, according as he had done in the Country before, and especially about *Bristol*, and also in the said City in *St. Austin's*, (now call'd *College-Green*). He remained in *London* almost a Year, waiting an Opportunity to translate the New Testament into *English*. But finding no Place for his Purpose in *England*, and having some Provision, by GOD's Providence, ministred unto him by certain good Men, he took his Leave of it, and departed into *Germany*. Here, being inflamed with a tender Care and Zeal for his Country, he refused no Pain
nor

nor Diligence, by all Means possible, to reduce his Countrymen to the same Understanding of GOD's Holy Word, which the LORD had indued him with.

HE translated the New Testament, about 1527. After that he took in Hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five Books of *Moses*, with learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one.

HE wrote divers other Works under sundry Titles, amongst whom are, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The wicked Mammon*, *The Practice of Prelates*; with Expositions upon certain Parts of Scripture, and other Books also, answering Sir *Thomas More*, and other Adversaries of the Truth.

THESE Books being published, and sent over into *England*, it cannot be spoken what a Door of Light they open'd to the Eyes of the whole *English* Nation, who were so many Years shut up in Darkness.

AT his first leaving *England*, he took his Journey into the further Parts of *Germany*, where he conferr'd with *Luther*, and other learned Men. After he had continued there a certain Season, he came down into the *Netherlands*, and abode mostly in *Antwerp*.

WHEN he had translated the Fifth Book of *Moses*, intending to print the same at *Hamburgh*, he sail'd thitherward; where by the Way upon the Coast of *Holland*, he suffer'd Shipwreck; by which he lost all his Books, Writings, and Copies, and so was compell'd to begin all anew, to his Hindrance and the Doubling of his Labours. Having lost both his Money, his Copies, and Time, he came in

another Ship to *Hamburgh*, where at his Appointment, Mr. *Coverdale* tarry'd for him, and help'd him translate the five Books of *Moses*, from *Easter* 'till *December*, in the House of a worshipful Widow, Mrs. *Margaret Van Emmerson*, in the Year 1529. So having dispatch'd his Business at *Hamburgh*, he return'd to *Antwerp* again.

THE Bishops and Prelates of the Realm, inflamed in their Minds, against the Old and New Testament translated by *Tindal*, and conspiring together with all their Heads, never rested, before they had brought the King to their Consent. By Reason whereof, a Proclamation in all Haste was devised, and set forth under publick Authority, that the Testament of *Tindal's* Translation, with other Works, both of his and other Writers, were inhibited. And not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their Nets, and to bereave him of his Life.

IN the Registers of *London* it appears, that if the Bishops, and Sir *Thomas More* had any poor Man to be examin'd before them, that had been at *Antwerp*, they most studiously examined all Things belonging to *Tindal*; where, and with whom he lodged? whereabouts the House stood? and what was his Stature? in what Apparel he went? All which Things when they had diligently learned, then they began to work.

WILLIAM TINDAL had lodg'd about a Year at *Antwerp*, in the House of *Thomas Pointz*, who kept an House of *English* Merchants. About which Time one came thither out of *England*, whose Name was *Henry Philips*, having a Servant with him; but wherefore he came, no Man could tell.

TINDAL

TINDAL was many Times invited to Dinner and Supper amongst Merchants. By this Means *Philips* became acquainted with him, and within a short Space *Tindal* brought him to his Lodging, and enter'd such Friendship with him, that through his Procurement he lay in the same House; to whom he shew'd moreover his Books, and other Secrets of his Study.

PHILIPS was in Doubt to move his Purpose, to any of the Rulers or Officers of *Antwerp*, for fear it should come to the Knowledge of some *Englishmen*, and so Mr. *Tindal* should have Warning thereof. He went therefore from *Antwerp* to the Court of *Brussels*, which is from thence 24 Miles; and brought from thence with him to *Antwerp*, the Procurator-General, who is the Emperor's Attorney, with certain other Officers.

WITHIN a While after, *Pointz* went forth to the Town of *Barrow*, being 18 *English* Miles from *Antwerp*, where he had Business to do for a Month or six Weeks. In his Absence, *Henry Philips* came again to the House, and spake to his Wife, asking for Mr. *Tindal*, and then went forth again. He return'd about Noon, and went to Mr. *Tindal*, and desir'd him to lend him 40s. For (said he) *I lost my Purse this Morning*. Mr. *Tindal* lent him the Money, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it, for he was simple and unexpert in the Subtilties of the World.

THEN said *Philips*: Mr. *Tindal* you shall be my Guest here to Day. No, (said Mr. *Tindal*) I am going out to Dinner to Day, and you shall go with me, and be my Guest, where you shall be welcome. So when it was Dinner-time, Mr. *Tindal* went forth with *Philips*. At the going out of *Pointz's* House,

was a long narrow Entry, that two could not go a-breast. Mr. *Tindal* would have put *Philips* before him, but *Philips* would have Mr. *Tindal* go before, pretending to shew great Civility. So Mr. *Tindal*, being a Man of no great Stature, went before, and *Philips* a tall Person follow'd behind him. He had set Officers on either Side of the Door, who being there might see who came; and coming through the Entry, *Philips* pointed over Mr. *Tindal*'s Head, that the Officers might see, that it was he, whom they should take. The Officers that took Mr. *Tindal*, afterwards told *Pointz* this, and said to him, (after they had laid him in Prison) *That they pitied to see his Simplicity when they took him.* Then they took him and brought him to the Emperor's Attorney; who went to the House of *Pointz*, and sent away all that was there of Mr. *Tindal*'s, as well his Books, as other Things. *Tindal* was had from thence to the Castle of *Filford*, 18 *English* Miles from *Antwerp*.

By the Help of some *English* Merchants, Letters in Favour of *Tindal*, were straitway sent to the Court of *Brussels*. Not long after Letters were directed out of *England* to the Council of *Brussels*, and sent to the Merchants at *Antwerp*, commanding them, that they should be deliver'd with Speed. Then such of the chief of the Merchants as were there, being called together, requir'd the said *Pointz* to take in Hand the Delivery of those Letters, with Letters also from them in the Favour of Mr. *Tindal*, to the Lord of *Barrow* and others. The Lord of *Barrow* (as it was told *Pointz* by the Way) was departed from *Brussels*, as the Conductor of the eldest Daughter of the King of *Denmark*. *Pointz* rode after and overtook him at *Achon*, where he deliver'd his Letters to him.

THEN

HE having then no Leisure to write, *Pointz* said: *If it please your Lordship, I will attend upon you to the next Baiting-place, which was at Maestricht. So Pointz follow'd him from Achon to Maestricht, 15 English Miles, and there receiv'd Letters of him, one to the Council at Bruffels, another to the Company of MerchantAdventurers, and another to the Lord Cromwel in England.*

POINTZ rode from thence to *Bruffels*, and deliver'd to the Council the Letters out of *England*, with the Lord *Barrow's* Letters also, and receiv'd Letters for *England*, which he brought to *Antwerp* to the *English* Merchants, who requir'd him to go with them into *England*. He did so, and deliver'd his Letters to the Council, and was commanded by them to tarry 'till he had other Letters; which being deliver'd him, at length he return'd again, and deliver'd them to the Emperor's Council at *Bruffels*, and there tarry'd for Answer of the same.

WHEN *Pointz* had tarry'd there three or four Days, it was told him, by one that belong'd to the Chancery, that Mr. *Tindal* should have been deliver'd to him, according to the Tenour of the Letters; but *Philips* follow'd the Suit against him, and hearing that he was to be deliver'd, knew no other Remedy but to accuse *Pointz*, saying: *That he had been a Succourer of Tindal, and was one of the same Opinion.*

UPON this Information *Pointz* was attach'd by the Emperor's Attorney, and deliver'd to the keeping of two Serjeants at Arms. He was long kept in Prison; but at length, when he saw no other Remedy, he made his Escape by Night. But *Tindal* remain'd in Prison still, who being brought to his Answer, was offer'd to have an Advocate and

a Proctor; (for in any criminal Cause there, it is permitted to have Council). But he refus'd to have any, saying: *He would answer for himself.*

AFTER much Reasoning, he was condemn'd by Virtue of the Emperor's Decree, made in the Assembly at *Augsbourg*; and being brought forth to the Place of Execution, and there tied to the Stake, was strangled by the Hangman, and afterward consum'd with Fire, in the Morning, at the Town of *Filford*, in the Year 1536, crying at the Stake, with a loud Voice: LORD, *open the King of England's Eyes.*

SUCH was the Power of his Doctrine, and Sincerity of his Life, that during the Time of his Imprisonment, (which was 18 Months) he converted he Keeper, his Daughter, and others of his Household. Also the Rest that were conversant with him in the Castle reported of him, That if he was not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust.

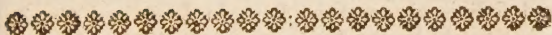
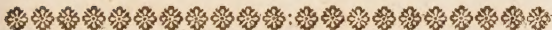
THE Procurator-General himself, left this Testimony of him, that he was *a learned, a good and a godly Man.*

THE same Year in which *William Tindal* was burned, died *Katherine*, Princess Dowager, in the Month of *January.*

THE same Year also in the Month of *May*, the King, being in his Jufts at *Greenwich*, departed suddenly, with a few Persons, to *Westminster.* The next Day after Queen *Anne*, his Wife, was had to the Tower, with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and certain others; and the Nineteenth Day after was beheaded. Her Words at her Death were these:

GOOD

GOOD Christian People, I am come hither to die, for by the Law I am judged to Death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no Man, nor to speak any Thing of that, whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray GOD, save the King, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler, or more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any Person will meddle of my Cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my Leave of the World, and of you all; and heartily desire you all to pray for me. O LORD, have Mercy on me. To GOD I commend my Soul. And so she kneeled down, saying: To CHRIST I commend my Soul: JESUS receive my Soul. Repeating the same divers Times, 'till at length the Stroke was given, and her Head was stricken off.





T H E

H I S T O R Y

Of the Worthy MARTYR of GOD,

JOHN LAMBERT,

Otherwise named NICHOLSON,

With his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, before the Archbishop Warham, and other Bishops; and also before King Henry VIII.

IMMEDIATELY upon the Destruction of the Monasteries, in the Month of *November*, 1538, followed the Trouble of *John Lambert*. He was born and brought up in *Norfolk*, and studied in the University of *Cambridge*. Where, after he had sufficiently profited both in *Latin* and *Greek*, being forc'd by the Violence of the Time, he departed beyond the Seas, to *Tindal* and *Frith*, and there remained a Year, Preacher to the *English-House* at *Antwerp*, 'till he was disturbed by Sir
Thomas

Thomas More; and by the Accufation of one *Barlow*, was carry'd from *Antwerp* to *London*; where he was brought to Examination firft at *Lambeth*, then at the Bifhop's Houfe at *Oxford*, before *Warham*, Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, and others; having 45 Articles miniftred againft him.

HIS Answers to thefe, were deliver'd to Dr. *Warham*, Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, about the Year 1532, while he was in Cuftody in the Archbifhop's Houfe at *Oxford*. But the Providence of GOD wrought fo for *Lambert*, that within a fhort Space after, Archbifhop *Warham* died, and he for that Time was deliver'd.

AFTER the Death of *William Warham*, fucceeded Dr. *Cranmer*. *Lambert*, in the mean Seafon, return'd to *London*, and there exercifed himfelf in teaching Children the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue; and continued in this Vocation fome Time, with great Commendation.

IN the Year 1538, he was prefent at a Sermon, in *St. Peter's Church* at *London*. He that preach'd was Dr. *Taylor*, a Man in thofe Days, not far difagreeing from the Gospel. In the Time of King *Edward*, he was made Bifhop of *Lincoln*; and in the Time of Queen *Mary* depriv'd of his Bifhoprick, and ended his Life among the Confeflors of *Chrift*.

WHEN the Sermon was done, *Lambert* went to the Preacher, and utter'd divers Arguments wherein he defir'd to be fatisfy'd concerning the Sacrament. Dr. *Taylor* excufing himfelf for the prefent, on Account of other Bufinefs; willed him to write his Mind, and come again fome other Time.

WITHIN

WITHIN a While, after he had written his Mind, he came again to him. His Arguments were Ten, proving the Truth, partly by the Scriptures, partly by Reason, and by the Determination of the Doctors.

Dr. TAYLOR upon this, conferred with Dr. *Barns*, who though he otherwise favour'd the Gospel; yet he seem'd not to favour this Cause: but perswaded him to lay the Matter before *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

HE did so; and *Lambert* was sent for by the Archbishop, and brought into Court, and forced to defend his Cause openly (for the Archbishop had not yet favour'd the Doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward he was an earnest Professor). In that Dispute, *Lambert* appeal'd from the Bishops to the King.

THE King immediately sent out a General Commission, commanding all the Nobles and Bishops to come to *London*, to assist the King against Heresies, which the King himself would sit in Judgment upon.

A DAY was fix'd, and a great Assembly of the Nobles was gather'd from all Parts of the Realm, not without much Wonder and Expectation in this so strange a Case. All the Seats and Places in the Assembly-Room were full of Men round about the Scaffold.

THEN *John Lambert* was brought from Prison, with a Guard of armed Men, and placed right over the King's Seat.

AT last the King himself came, as Judge of that Controversy, with a great Guard, cloathed all
in

in White. The Bishops sat on his Right Hand, and behind him the Lawyers, cloathed all in Purple, according to Custom. On the Left Hand sat the Peers of the Realm, and other Nobles in their Order. Mean Time the King's Look, and his Brows bent, plainly declar'd a Mind full of Indignation far unworthy such a Prince, especially in such a Matter, and against so humble and obedient a Subject.

WHEN the King was set on his Throne, he beheld *Lambert* with a stern Countenance, and then turning to his Counsellors, he call'd forth *Dr. Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, commanding him to declare the Causes of the present Assembly.

THE whole Scope of his Oration was: That the King would have no Man think, that because the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* was abolish'd, he would therefore extinguish all Religion, or give Liberty to Hereticks to trouble the Churches of *England*, whereof he is the Head; or, that they were assembled to make any Dispute upon the Heretical Doctrine; but only for this Person, that the Heresies of this Man present, and of all such like should be openly condemned.

WHEN he had made an End, the King stood up, and leaning himself upon a Cushion, turned toward *Lambert*, with his Brows bent, and said: *Ho, good Fellow, what is thy Name?* Then he humbly kneeling down upon his Knee, said: *My Name is John Nicholson, tho' of many I am called Lambert. What (said the King) have you two Names? I would not trust you, having two Names, altho' you were my Brother.*

LAMBERT replied: *Most noble Prince, your Bishops forced me to change my Name.* Then after
much

much Talk, the King commanded him to go to the Matter, and to declare his Opinion, as to the Sacrament of the Altar.

LAMBERT, beginning to speak for himself, gave GOD Thanks, who had so inclined the Heart of the King, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the Controversies of Religion.

THEN the King interrupting him, said, with an angry Voice: *I came not hither to hear mine own Praises. Go briefly to the Matter, without any more Circumstance.*

LAMBERT being abashed at the King's angry Words, paused a while to consider which Way to turn himself in these Extremities.

BUT the King, with Anger and Vehemency, said: *Why standest thou still? Touching the Sacrament of the Altar, sayest thou it is the Body of Christ, or wilt thou deny it?* And with that Word the King lifted up his Cap.

LAMBERT answer'd: *I say with St. Augustine, That it is the Body of Christ after some Manner.*

ANSWER me (says the King) *neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the Authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the Body of Christ or no?* (speaking in Latin).

LAMBERT said, *Then I deny it to be the Body of Christ.*

THE King reply'd: *Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own Words, Hoc est Corpus meum.*

THEN

THEN he commanded *Cranmer* to refute his Assertion: Who began to dispute very modestly, saying; *Brother Lambert, if I prove your Argument to be false by Scripture, you will willingly revoke it; but if you shall prove it true by manifest Testimonies of Scripture, I will willingly embrace it.*

THE Argument was this: *Christ* appeared unto *St. Paul* by the Way: Therefore it is not disagreeable to the Word of GOD, that the Body of *Christ* may be in two Places at once, which being in Heaven, was seen by *St. Paul* at the same Time upon Earth; and if it may be in two Places, by the like Reason may it not be in many Places?

LAMBERT answer'd in such a Manner, that the King seem'd greatly moved, the Bishop himself intangled, and all the Audience amazed. Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had the sixth Place in the Dispute, fearing lest the Argument should be taken out of his Mouth, without the King's Commandment, and observing no Order, before the Archbishop had ended, alledg'd a Place out of the 12th Chapter of the *Corinthians*, where *St. Paul* saith: *Have I not seen Jesus?* And again in the 15th Chapter: *He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the Apostles, but last of all He appeared unto me as one born out of due Time.*

LAMBERT answer'd: He did nothing doubt but that *Christ* was seen, and did appear; but he denied that He was in two or divers Places, as to his Body.

NEXT to the Bishop of *Winchester*, Bishop *Tonstal* took his Course; and after a long Preface, wherein he spake much of GOD's Omnipotence, he came at last to the Point, saying: If *Christ*

could perform what he spake, touching the converting of his Body into Bread, without doubt He would speak Nothing but what He would perform.

LAMBERT answer'd: That there was no Place of Scripture, wherein *Christ* says, That He would change the Bread into his Body; and moreover, that there is no Necessity why He should. But this is a figurative Speech every where used in Scripture, when the Name of the Thing signify'd is attributed to the Sign. By which Figure of Speech Circumcision is called, The Covenant; the Lamb, The Passover.

NEXT stepped forth *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*: It is Nothing dissonant from Nature (said he) for the Substance of like Things to be changed one into another; so that nevertheless the Accidents remain. Then he illustrated it by the Example of Water boiling so long 'till all the Substance thereof be evaporated. Now (said he) a Substance cannot be changed but into a Substance: Wherefore we do affirm the Substance of the Water to pass into the Substance of the Air; notwithstanding the Quality of the Water, which is Moistness, remaineth after the Substance is changed.

WHEN this Argument was heard, the Bishops greatly rejoiced, assuring themselves of a certain Victory.

HERE all Men earnestly expected *Lambert's* Answer. As soon as he had Liberty to speak, he first of all denied, that the Moisture of the Water did remain after the Substance was altered. For altho' (saith he) we grant the Air to be naturally Moist, yet it hath one Degree of Moisture, and the Water another. Wherefore, when the Water is converted

verted into Air, tho' there remaineth Moisture, it is not the Moisture of Water, but the proper Moisture of the Air.

THEN the King and the Bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was forc'd to keep Silence. After this the other Bishops, every one in his Turn, took their Places of Disputation. But their Arguments were all but common Reasons, and had little in them worthy to be heard or read.

LAMBERT in the mean Time, being wearied with long Standing, having stood no less than five Hours, from Twelve o'Clock 'till Five at Night, and seeing no Hope of Success in speaking, chose rather to hold his Peace.

AT last, when Torches began to be lighted, the King said to Lambert: *What sayest thou now, after all these Reasons and Instructions of these learned Men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free Choice.* Lambert answer'd: *I yield myself wholly to the Will of your Majesty. Then (said the King) commit thy self unto the Hands of GOD, and not unto mine.*

LAMBERT reply'd: *I commend my Soul unto the Hands of GOD, but my Body I wholly yield to your Clemency.* Then said the King: *If you commit your self to my Judgment, you must die, for I will not be the Patron of Hereticks.* And turning himself unto Cromwel, he said: *Cromwel, read the Sentence of Condemnation against him.*

THIS undoubtedly was the Subtilty of the Bishop of Winchester, who rather desired that the Sentence might be read by Cromwel, than any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should have incurred the like Danger. Cromwel, at the King's

Commandment, taking the Schedule of Condemnation, read it.

THUS was JOHN LAMBERT condemn'd to Death by the King; whose Judgment now remaineth with the LORD against that Day, when both Princes and Subjects shall appear before the Tribunal Seat of that great Judge, not to judge, but to be judged according to their Works.

UPON the Day that was appointed for him to suffer, he was brought out of the Prison at Eight o'Clock in the Morning, unto the House of the Lord *Cromwel*, and carried into his inward Chamber, where, it is reported, *Cromwel* ask'd him Forgiveness. There at the last, being admonish'd that the Hour of his Death was at Hand, he was greatly comforted, and being brought out of the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and sat down to Breakfast with them, shewing no Manner of Sadness or Fear. When Breakfast was ended, he was carried straitway to the Place of Execution; where after his Legs were consumed, and the Tormentors had withdrawn the Fire from him, so that but a small Fire and Coals were left under him, two that stood on each Side of him, with their Halberds pitched him upon their Pikes, as far as the Chain would reach. Then he lifting up such Hands as he had, cried unto the People, *None but Christ, None but Christ*: And so being let down again from their Halberds, fell into the Fire and ended his Life.

ABOUT this Time N. PEKE was burnt at *Ipswich*. It is recorded of him; That when he was so scorch'd that he was as black as Soot, one Dr. *Reading* standing before him, having a Wand in his Hand, struck him on the right Shoulder,

der, and said: *Peke, recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ; and here have I to absolve thee from thy Misbelief that hath been in thee, shewing a Scroll of Paper in his Hand.* When he had spoken these Words, *Peke* answered, *I defie it and thee also,* and with great Violence he spit from him very Blood, which came from him by Reason that his Veins brake in his Body through extreme Anguish. And when *Peke* had so spoken, *Doctor Reading* said, *My Lord Bishop of Norwich grants forty Days Pardon to as many as shall cast a Stick to the burning of this Heretick.*

THEN *Baron Curson*, *Sir John Audley*, Knight, with many others of Estimation, being there present, rose from their Seats, and with their Swords cut down Boughs, and threw them into the Fire, and so did all the People.





THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
THOMAS CROMWEL,
EARL of *ESSEX.*

THOMAS CROMWEL was born at *Putney*, being a Smith's Son, whose Mother married after to a Sheerman. Such was the Activity and Ripeness of Nature in him, so discreet was he in Judgment, in Tongue so eloquent, that being conversant in the Sight of Men, he could not be long unespied. Neither was his Capacity so good, but his Memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in his learning the whole New Testament of *Erasmus's* Translation without Book, in his Journey to and from *Rome*.

IN his growing Years, he had a great Desire to see the World abroad, and to learn Experience; whereby he learned such Languages, as might better serve for his Use hereafter.

BEING

BEING at *Antwerp*, he was there retained of the *English Merchants* to be their Clerk or Secretary.

ALL this While, he had no Taste nor Judgment of Religion, but was Wild and Youthful, without Regard of GOD and his Word, as he himself was wont oftimes to declare unto *Cranmer*, shewing what a Ruffian he was in his young Days, and how he was in the Wars of the Duke of *Bourbon*, at the Siege of *Rome*, and so continued, till by learning the New Testament without Book, in his going and coming from *Rome*, he began to be touched and called to a better Understanding.

MEAN Time, Cardinal *Wolsey* began to bear a great Sway in *England*; so that all Men fought unto him. To his Service was *Cromwel* advanced, where he continued, growing up in Authority, till at length he was preferr'd to be Solicitor to the Cardinal.

THERE was about the same Time, in the Household of the Cardinal, *Thomas More*, afterwards Chancellor of *England*, and *Stephen Gardiner*, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*. These three, were all of one standing: Whose Ages as they were not much unequal: so neither was their Fortune and Advancements. And though, peradventure, in *More* and *Gardiner* there was more Learning, yet there was in this Man, a more prompt and perfect Judgment, equal Eloquence, and a more Heroical and Princely Disposition, born to greater Affairs in the Common-Wealth.

THE Cardinal had then in Hand, the Building of his College in *Oxford*, by Reason whereof, certain small Monastries and Priories, in divers Places were suppressed, and the Lands seized to the Cardinal's

dinal's Hands. The Doing whereof, was committed to the Charge of *Thomas Cromwel*. And thus was he first set by the Cardinal, to suppress Religious Houses, about the Year, 1525.

IT was not long, before the Cardinal who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast. So that his Household being dissolved, *Thomas Cromwel*, among others, laboured to be retain'd in the King's Service.

THERE was at the same Time, one Sir *Christopher Hales*, Knight, Master of the Rolls, who, notwithstanding was then a mighty Papist; yet bare such Favour to *Cromwel*, that he commended him to the King, who was willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

CROMWEL soon understood, that the King would talk with him, and therefore providing before Hand, had in Readiness the Copy of the Bishops Oath, which they use commonly to make to the Pope at their Consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the King in his Garden at *Westminster*, which was about the Year, 1530.

Cromwel after loyal Obeisance, according as he was demanded, made his Declaration in all Points; especially making manifest unto his Highness, how his Princely Authority was abused within his own Realm by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the Pope: which (he said) was Derogatory to his Crown, and prejudicial to the Common Laws of the Realm. Declaring thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great Riches, if it so pleased him to take the Occasion now offer'd. The King giving good Ear to this, inquired if he could avouch that

which

which he spake. He said, *He could avouch all this to be certain, for he had the Copy of their Oath to the Pope to shew*; and therewith shewed the King the Bishops Oath.

THE King took his Ring off his Finger, and first admitting him into his Service, sent him therewith to the *Convocation-House* among the Bishops. *Cromwel* coming with the King's Signet, and placing himself among the Bishops, began to make his Oration, declaring the Authority of a King, and the Office of his Subjects, and especially the Obedience of Bishops and Church-men under publick Laws, necessarily provided for the Profit and Quiet of the Common-wealth. Which Laws notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*, in that they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the Fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their Goods, Chattels, Lands, Possessions, and whatsoever Livings they had. The Bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to deny the Fact. But after *Cromwel* had shewed them the very Copy of their Oath made to the Pope at their Consecration, they began to shrink and fall to Entreaty, desiring Respite to pause upon the Matter. Notwithstanding, to be quit of that *Præmunire*, it cost them to the King for both the Provinces, *Canterbury* and *York*, no less than 118,840*l*.

AFTER this, *Thomas Cromwel* growing in Favour with the King, was Knighted and made Master of the King's Jewel-House, and shortly after was admitted into the King's Council, which was about the Coming in of *Queen Anne Bullen*. And within two Years after that, he was made Master of the *Rolls*, *Dr. Taylor* being discharged.

IN the Year 1527, a little before the Birth of King *Edward*, he was made Knight of the Garter, and not long after advanced to the Earldom of *Essex*, and made great Chamberlain of *England*. Over and above all which Honours, he was also Vicegerent to the King, representing his Person. Which Office, although it standeth well by the Law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this *Cromwel* alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with Counsel and Wisdom, as *Cromwel* did.

AFTER the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority was banished out of *England*, the Bishops of this Sect never ceased to seek all Occasions either to restore his Power, or at least to keep upright those Things which remained; wherein although their Labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to pass, if *Cromwel* (as a mighty Wall and Defence of the Church) had not resisted continually their Enterprises.

How studious *Cromwel* was in the Cause of *Christ's* Religion, Examples need not be brought. His whole Life was nothing else but a continual Care and Travel to advance and further the right Knowledge of the Gospel. He first caused the People to be instructed in the LORD's Prayer and Creed in *English*. Then he procured the Scripture to be set forth in the same Language, for every *Englishman* to understand: after that, to rescue the Vulgar from damnable Idolatry, he caused certain of the grossest Pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the Commodity of the poor Sort, which get their Living with their daily Labour, he provided that idle Holy-days were diminished. Also, he procured for them, Liberty to eat Eggs and White-meat in *Lent*. Furthermore, it was by him provided, for the better Instruction of the People,
that

that Beneficed Men should be resident in their Cures and Parishes, there to teach and keep Hospitality, with many other Things most fruitfully redressed for the Reformation of Religion.

To adjoin his private Benefits, in helping Men and Women at sundry Times out of Troubles, it would require a long Discourse. Briefly, his whole Life was full of such Examples, being a Man to that Intent ordained of God to do many Men good, and especially such as were in Danger of Persecution for Religion's Sake. Amongst other infinite Stories, one or two Examples shall suffice for a Testimony of his worthy Doings.

IN the Year, 1538, Sir *William Forman* being Mayor of *London*, three Weeks before *Easter*, the Wife of one *Thomas Frebarne* dwelling in *Paternoster-Row*, being with Child, longed after a Morfel of a Pig, and told her Mind to a Maid, dwelling in *Abchurch-Lane*, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her to a Piece. The Maid perceiving her earnest Desire, told the Husband what his Wife had said to her, adding, that it might cost her her Life, and the Child's too which she went with, if she had it not. Upon this, *Frebarne* spake to one good-Wife *Fisher*, to help him to a Pig for his Wife, for she was with Child, and longed sore to eat of a Pig. *Fisher* promised that she would bring him one the *Friday* following, and so she did, being ready dressed. When she had delivered the Pig, she conveyed one of the Pig's Feet, to Dr. *Cox*, Dean of *Canterbury*, dwelling in *Ivy-lane*, who was that Time at his Dinner. One of his Guests, called Mr. *Garter*, being Landlord to *Frebarne*, sent his Man to him to enquire if there were no Body sick in his House. Unto whom he answered, that they were all in good Health, he gave God Thanks. The Servant said again, it was told

told my Master, that some Body was sick, or else you would not eat Flesh in *Lent*. *Frebarne* answered, that his Wife was with Child, and longed for a Piece of Pig, and if he could get some for her he would. Then the Servant went Home.

SHORTLY after, *Frebarne's* Landlord sent for him. But first sent for the Bishop of *London's* Sumner, when *Frebarne* was come, he ask'd him, *If he had not a Pig in his House*, which he denied not. Then Mr. *Garter* commanded the Sumner to take the Pig, and carry both that and *Frebarne* to his Master, and so he did. The Bishop being in his Chamber with divers others of the Clergy, called *Frebarne* before him, and examined him concerning this Pig, charging him also, that he had eaten Calves Heads that *Lent*. My Lord, says he, *if the Heads were eaten in my House, in whose Houses were the Bodies eaten? But if any one can prove, that either I, or any in my House hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer Death therefore. Thou art no Christian*, says the Bishop. My Lord, said *Frebarne*, *I trust I am a true Christian, and have done nothing either against GOD's Law or my Prince's.*

AFTER this, the Bishop called the Sumner, and commanded him to go and carry *Thomas Frebarne* and his Pig openly through the Streets into the *Old Baily*, to Sir *Roger Cholmley*; for the Bishop said, *He had nothing to do to punish him; that belonged unto the Civil Magistrates*; and so *Frebarne* was carried with the Pig before him, to Sir *Roger Cholmley's* House in the *Old-Bailey*, and he being not at Home, was brought back again to the Bishop's Palace with the Pig, and there lay in the *Porters-Lodge* till Nine at Night. Then the Bishop sent him to the *Compter* in the *Poultry*.

THE next Day being *Saturday*, he was brought before the Mayor of *London* and his Brethren unto the *Guild-Hall*; but before his Coming, they had the Pig delivered to them by the Bishop's Officer. Then the Mayor said, that the *Monday* following, he should stand on the Pillory in *Cheapside*, with the one half of the Pig on the one Shoulder, and the other half on the other.

THEN *Frebarne's* Wife desired that she might stand there, and not he, for the Fault was hers and not his. After this they took a Satten-Lift, and tied it fast about the Pig's Neck, and made *Frebarne* carry it hanging on his Shoulder 'till he came unto the *Compter*.

AFTER this was done, his Wife took with her, the Wife of one *Michael Loble*, who was well acquainted with several in the Lord *Cromwel's* House, unto whom the said Woman resorted, desiring them to speak to their Lord.

THE same Time came in Dr. *Barnes*, who understanding the Matter by *Loble's* Wife, went up to the Lord *Cromwel* and certified him thereof; who sent for the Mayor of *London*.

THE *Monday* following, the Mayor sent for the Prisoner, and demanded Sureties for his Forth-coming: but for lack of Sureties, upon his own Bond, which was a Recognizance of twenty Pound, he was delivered out of their Hands.

ABOUT the same Time, one *Gray*, a Smith of *Bishops-Stratford*, being accused for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be our Saviour, was sent to *London*, and there should have been condemn'd to be burnt, but that by the Means of the Lord *Cromwel*, he was freed and sent Home again.

COMMONLY, Men advanced from base Degree to ample Dignities, not only forget themselves what they were, but also cast out of Remembrance all their old Friends and Acquaintance. From which Sort of Men how far *Cromwel* differ'd, by divers Examples may appear. A certain poor Woman sometime kept a victualling House about *Hounslow*, the Lord *Cromwel* owed her an old Debt of 40 Shillings, It happened, that the Lord *Cromwel* with *Cranmer*, was riding through *Cheapside* towards the Court, and cast his Eye over the Way, and there espyed this poor Woman. He strait caused her to be called unto him. Being come, he asked, after certain Questions, *If she were not such a Woman, dwelling in such a Place: and whether there was not a Reckoning between him and her?* She said, *That he owed her some Money upon an old Reckoning, whereof she was in great Necessity, but never durst ask him for it.* Then the Lord *Cromwel* sent the poor Woman home to his House, with one of his Servants, at his Return from the Court, he not only discharged the Debt, but also gave her a yearly Pension of four Pounds, while she lived.

THE like Courtesy he shewed to a certain *Italian*. The Story compiled in the *Italian* Tongue by *Bandello*, I here insert, with the whole Order and Circumstance thereof.

NOT many Years past, saith the Author, there was in *Florence*, a Merchant, whose Name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble Family of the *Frescobalds*. This Gentleman was naturally liberal, unto whom also, Riches increased, so that he grew in great Wealth. He Traded into many Countries, but chiefly into *England*, where he lived a long Time sojourning in *London*

FRANCIS FRESCOBALD being in *Florence*, a poor young Man asking his Alms for God Sake. *Frescobald* (as he earnestly beheld this ragged Strippling, who was not so disguised in his tattered Attire, but that his Countenance gave Signification of much Vertue in him) being moved with Pity, demanded of what Country he was? *I am Sir,* quoth he, *of England, and my Name is Thomas Cromwel. My Father is a poor Man, I am strayed from my Country, and am now come into Italy with the Camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Gatilyon.* *Frescobald* partly considering the State of this young Man, and partly for the Love he bare the *English* Nation, received him into his House, and when he was minded to return into his Country, provided such Things as he needed. He gave him both Horse and new Apparel, and sixteen Ducats of Gold, to bring him into his Country. *Cromwel*, rendring his hearty Thanks, took Leave of his Host, and return'd into *England*.

AT what Time *Cromwel* was advanced to such Dignity, *Frescobald* was by many Misfortunes became very Poor. But still there was due to him from certain Merchants in *England*, the Sum of 15,000 Ducats. He purposed, if he could recover that Money, to trade no longer, but quietly pass over the rest of his Days.

ALL Things being prepared for his Journey, he set out for *England*, and at last arrived at *London*. He had utterly forgotten what Courtesy he had long before shewed unto *Cromwel*. But one Day, as he was riding towards the Court, he chanced to meet Lord *Cromwel*. As soon as the Lord *Cromwel* espied him, suddenly alighting (to the great Admiration of those that were with him) he embraced the Stranger, and with a broken Voice, scarce able to refrain Tears, he demanded if he were not Francis

Frescobald, *the Florentine?* he answered, *Yes Sir, and your humble Servant. My Servant* (quoth Cromwel?) *no; you have not been my Servant in Times past, and I will not now account you other than my special Friend.* But having now weighty Affairs in my Prince's Cause, you must excuse me, that I can tarry with you no longer. Therefore at this Time I take my Leave, but desire, that you forget not this Day to come to my House to Dinner; and then remounting his Horse, he passed to the Court. *Frescobald* greatly marvelling who this Lord should be, at last, after some Pause, he knew him to be the same, whom he had relieved in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering, that by his Means, he should better recover his Due.

THE Hour of Dinner drawing near, he repaired to the House, where he walked in the Court, attending his Coming. The Lord *Cromwel* shortly return'd from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embrac'd this Gentleman with so friendly a Countenance, that both the Lord Admiral, and all the other Noblemen of the Court did not a little marvel thereat.

WHEN the Lord *Cromwel* perceived this, turning towards them, and holding *Frescobald* fast by the Hand, he said: *Do not marvel, my Lords, that I seem so glad of this Man: That ye may not be ignorant of his Courtesy when I greatly needed it, I will tell it you.* Then he declared unto them every Thing in Order, as hath been before recited. He then led him by the Hand into his House, and coming into the Room where the Dinner was prepared, he sate down to Table, placing his welcome Guest next to him.

THE Dinner ended, and the Lords departed, *Frescobald* in few Words open'd his Case, telling, That from great Wealth he was fallen into Poverty; and that his only Portion was 15,000 Ducats owing him in *England*, and 2000 in *Spain*.

LORD CROMWEL taking him by the Hand, led him into his Chamber; and after every Man was departed, he locked the Door. Then opening a Coffer, he first took out sixteen Ducats, and delivering them to *Frescobald*, he said: *Here, my Friend, is your Money which you lent me at my Departure from Florence; and here are other ten, which you bestowed in my Apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the Horse which I rode. But considering you are a Merchant, it seems to me not honest to return your Money without some Consideration for the long detaining it. Take therefore these four Bags; in every one of them is 400 Ducats; these you shall receive from the Hands of your assured Friend.*

THIS done, he caused *Frescobald* to give him a Note of the Names of all his Debtors, and the Sum that every one owed him. This Schedule he delivered to one of his Servants, unto whom he gave Charge to search out those Men, if they were within the Realm, and straitly to charge them to pay these Sums within fifteen Days.

DURING all this Time, *Frescobald* lodged in the House of the Lord *Cromwel*, who often moved him to abide in *England*, offering him the Loan of threescore thousand Ducats, if he would continue and make his Bank in *London*. But *Frescobald*, who desired to return into his Country, after many Thanks departed Home, where he lived but a small Time, for in the first Year of his Return he died.

ONE Story more I may not pass over. He coming with other of the Lords of the Council to the House of *Shene*, about the Examination of certain Monks which there denied the King's Supremacy; after the Examination, he chanced to spy afar off a certain poor Man, who used to sweep their Cells and Cloisters, and to ring the Bells. Lord *Cromwel* sent for the poor Man to come to him, and before all most lovingly called him by his Name, and took him by the Hand, and asked how he did, with many other good Words; and turning to the Lords, *My Lords* (said he) *see you this poor Man? This Man's Father hath been a great Friend to me in my Necessity, and hath given me many a Meal's Meat.* Then said he to the poor Man: *Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live.*

IN this worthy Person, besides divers other eminent Virtues, three Things especially are to be considered, to wit, Authority, Wisdom, and Zeal. First, as to his fervent Zeal in setting forward the Sincerity of Christian Faith, more cannot almost be wished in a Nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

SECONDLY, his Wisdom, joined with his Christian Zeal, brought great Things to pass. But especially his Working was to nourish Peace with foreign Realms, with the Emperor, the *French* King, the King of *Scots*, and also with the Pope; in all whose Courts he had such Spies, that there was nothing done, whereof he had not Intelligence. So that during all the Time of *Cromwel's* Prosperity, the King never had Wars with any foreign Nation; notwithstanding both the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, were mightily incensed against him.

THUS

THUS as his Policy was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the Realm from foreign Wars; so his Authority was no less occupied in keeping good Order and Rule at Home: First, in hampering the Popish Prelates, and disappointing their Devices; Secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly Subjects under Subjection; whereby, as he was a Succour and Refuge to all godly Persons, so was he a Terror to the Evil-Doers; so that not the Presence of him only, but even the Hearing of the Coming of *Cromwel* put an End to many Frays and Riots.

LONG it were to recite what innumerable Benefits this worthy Counsellor, by his prudent Policy, his grave Authority, and perfect Zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the Realm; and especially in the Church of *England*, what good Orders he established, what Wickedness and Vices he suppress'd, what Corruptions he reformed, what Abuses he brought to Light; what crafty Jugglings, what idolatrous Deceptions, and superstitious Delusions he detected and abolish'd out of the Church.

WHILE the Lord *Cromwel* was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the Common-wealth, and purging the Church, it happened to him, as it doth to all Men, that where true Piety is, there Persecution follows.

THE principal Enemy against him was *Stephen Gardiner*; who disdaining and envying the State of Lord *Cromwel*, and now taking Occasion by the Marriage of Lady *Anne of Cleve*, being a Stranger, put in the King's Ears what a Thing it were to the Quiet of the Realm, and Establishment to the King's Succession, to have an *Engilsh* Queen. And the King's Affection, the more it was diminish'd

nish'd from *Anne of Cleve*, the less Favour he bare unto *Cromwel*.

THE Year following, which was 1541, in the Month of *April*, a Parliament was held, which, after divers Prorogations, was continued 'till the Month of *July*. In which Month the Lord *Cromwel* being in the Council-Chamber was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the *Tower of London*. Whereat as many good Men lamented, so more there were that rejoiced, especially of the Clergy, such as had been in some Dignity before in the Church, and now by his Means were put from it. These hated him much, which was the Cause of shortning his Days; so that on the 19th Day of the same Month he was attainted by Parliament.

IN the Attainder sundry Crimes were brought against him, but chiefly he was accused of Heresy, for that he was a Supporter of Hereticks: Also that he dispersed abroad great Numbers of Books containing manifest Heresies. Lastly, That he caused to be translated into *English*, Books comprising Matter expressly against the Sacrament of the Altar.

IN the mean Season, however the Case of the Lord *Cromwell* stood, this is certain, that *Stephen Gardiner* wanted not an Head to watch the Time, when the King was disposed to marry *Katherine Howard*, which during the Life of *Cromwel*, could not so well be brought to pass.

So long as he went with full Sail of Fortune, how moderately, he ever carried himself hath been declar'd before. So now Lord *Cromwel*, always one Man, being overblown by the contrary Wind of Adversity, receiv'd the same with no less Constancy,

cy, neither yet was he so unprovided of Counsel and Forecast, but that he foresaw this Tempest long before it fell, and also prepar'd for the same. Two Years before, fearing what might happen, he called his Servants to him, and shewing them in what a slippery State he stood, requir'd them to look diligently to their Doings, lest any Occasion might rise against him through their Default. And further, before the Time of his Apprehension, he took such Order for his Servants, that many of them, especially the younger Brethren, who had little else to take to, had somewhat handsome left for them in their Friends Hands to relieve them, whatsoever should befall him.

BRIEFLY, such a loving and kind Master he was to his Servants, that he provided beforehand for them all; insomuch, that he gave twenty Pounds a-piece to twelve Children, which were his Musicians, and so committed them to their Friends.

WHEN he was in the *Tower*, it is worth noting, how quietly he bore it; how gravely and discreetly he answer'd, and entertain'd the Commissioners that were sent to him; they could put nothing to him, either concerning Matters Ecclesiastical or Temporal, wherein he was not more furnish'd in every Condition than they themselves.

AMONGST those Commissioners, there was one whom the Lord *Cromwel* desired to carry a Letter to the King from him, which when he refused, saying: *He would carry no Letters from a Traitor*: The Lord *Cromwel* desir'd him at least to do a Message to the King from him. He promis'd that he would, so it were not against his Allegiance. Then the Lord *Cromwel* taking Witness of the other Lords, what he had promised: *You shall commend me (said he) to the King, and tell him, when*
he

he has thoroughly proved you, as I have done, he will find you as false a Man as ever came about him.

HOWEVER, he wrote a Letter from the Tower to the King, and when none durst carry it, Sir *Ralph Sadler* went to the King, to know whether he would permit him to bring the Letter; which when the King had granted, Sir *Ralph* presented the Letter to him. He commanded it to be read to him thrice, he seem'd to be so much mov'd therewith. Notwithstanding, by Reason of the Act of Parliament, the Lord *Cromwel*, oppressed by his Enemies, and condemn'd without Hearing, on the 28th Day of *July*, was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he said these Words following.

I *Am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some peradventure think I will. For if I should do so, I were a very Wretch. I am by the Law condemned to die, and I thank my LORD GOD, that hath appointed me this Death for mine Offence. For since the Time that I have had Years of Discretion, I have lived a Sinner, and offended my LORD GOD, for which I heartily ask Him Forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great Traveller in this World, and being but of a base Degree, was called to a high Estate, and since the Time I came thereunto, I have offended my Prince, for the which I heartily ask him Forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to GOD with me, that He will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me Record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a Bearer of such as have maintained evil Opinions, which is untrue. But I confess, that like as GOD by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the Truth, so the Devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me Wit-*

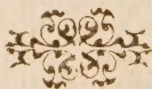
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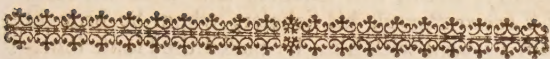
ness, that I die in the Catholick Faith of the Holy Church: And I heartily desire you to pray for the King's Grace, that he may long live with you in Health and Prosperity; and that after him, his Son, Prince Edward, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as Life remaineth in this Flesh, I waver nothing in my Faith. Then making his Prayer, kneeling on his Knees, he spake these Words:

O LORD *Jesus*, who art the only Health of all Men living, and the everlasting Life of them which die in Thee; I, wretched Sinner, submit myself wholly unto thy blessed Will, and being sure that the Thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy Mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked Flesh, in sure Hope that Thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again, at the last in the Resurrection of the Just. I beseech Thee most merciful LORD *Jesus Christ*, that Thou wilt by thy Grace strengthen my Soul against all Temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy Mercy against all the Assaults of the Devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no good Hope of Salvation, but all my Confidence, Hope, and Trust is in thy most merciful Goodness. I have no Merits nor good Works which I may alledge before Thee. Of Sins and evil Works (alas) I see a great Heap; but yet through thy Mercy I trust to be in the Number of them to whom Thou wilt not impute their Sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the Inheritor of everlasting Life. Thou merciful LORD wert born for my Sake; Thou didst suffer both Hunger and Thirst for my Sake; Thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my Sake; all thy holy Works Thou wroughtest for my Sake; Thou sufferedst most grievous Pains and Torments for my Sake: Finally, Thou gavest thy most precious Body and
Blood

Blood to be shed on the Cross for my Sake. Now most merciful Saviour, who hast given Thyself also for me, let all these Things profit me. Let thy Blood cleanse and wash away the Spots of my Sins. Let thy Righteousness hide and cover my Unrighteousness. Let the Merits of thy Passion and Blood shedding, be Satisfaction for my Sins. Give me, LORD, thy Grace, that the Faith of my Salvation in thy Blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the Hope of thy Mercy and Life everlasting never decay in me, that Love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the Weakness of my Flesh be not overcome with the Fear of Death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when Death hath shut the Eyes of my Body, yet the Eyes of my Soul may still behold and look upon Thee; and when Death hath taken away the Use of my Tongue, yet my Heart may cry, and say unto Thee: LORD, *into thy Hands I commend my Soul, LORD Jesus receive my Spirit!* Amen.

AFTER he had prayed thus, and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the Scaffold, he quietly committed his Soul into the Hands of GOD, and so patiently suffered the Stroke of the Axe.





THE

HISTORY

OF

ROBERT BARNES, THOMAS GARRET, *and* WILLIAM JEROME.

WHEN the valiant Standard-bearer of the Church of *England*, *Thomas Cromwel*, was made away, Pity it is to behold what miserable Slaughter of good Men ensued. For the Bishop of *Winchester* having now gotten his full Purpose, lest by Delays he might lose the Occasion, he straitways made his first Assaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Jerome*, whom, within two Days after *Cromwel's* Death, he caused to be put to Execution.

Dr. BARNES, after he came from the University of *Louvain*, went to *Cambridge*, where he was made Prior of the House of the *Augustines*. At that Time the Knowledge of good Letters was scarcely enter'd into the University, all Things being full of Rudeness and Barbarity, saving in very Few. Whereupon *Barnes* began in his House to read *Terence* and *Cicero*, so that what with his

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Industry, Pains, and Labour, and with the Help of *Thomas Parnel*, his Scholar, whom he brought from *Louvain* with him, he caused the House shortly to flourish with good Letters. After these Foundations laid, he read openly *Paul's* Epistles, and turned their fruitless Disputations to better Matter of the Holy Scripture, and thereby in short Space he made divers good Divines. The same Order of Disputation which he kept in his House, he observed likewise in the University, when he disputed with any Man in the common Schools. And the first Man that answer'd *Dr. Barnes* in the Scriptures, was *Mr. Stafford*, which Disputation was marvellous in the Sight of the great Doctors, and joyful to the Godly.

THUS *Barnes*, with his Reading, Disputation, and Preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures; and yet did not see his inward and outward Idolatry, 'till *Mr. Bilney* converted him wholly to *Christ*.

THE first Sermon that ever he preach'd according to the Truth, was the *Sunday* before *Christmas-Day*, at *St. Edward's* Church belonging to *Trinity-Hall*, on the Epistle of the *Sunday*; and for that Sermon he was accused of Heresy, by two Fellows of *King's-Hall*. Then the Godly of divers Colleges, shew'd themselves and flock'd together in open Sight, both in the Schools and at Sermons, and at the other Disputations, conferr'd continually together.

THE House they resorted to, was the *White Horse*, which was chosen because many of them of *St. John's-College* and *Queen's-College* came in on the Back-side. At this Time much Trouble began to ensue. The Adversaries of *Dr. Barnes* accused him in the *Regent-House*, before the Vice-Chancellor,

Chancellor, where his Articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make Answer at the next Convocation. This Tragedy continued in *Cambridge*, one Preaching against another, 'till within six Days of *Shrovetide*. Then a Serjeant at Arms was sent down to *Cambridge*, who suddenly arrested Dr. *Barnes* in the Convocation-House, to make all others afraid; and they had privily determined to make Search for *Luther's* Books, and all the *German* Works. But they were convey'd away by that Time that the Serjeant at Arms, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors were at every Man's Chamber, going directly to the Place where the Books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some Spies among that small Company). The Serjeant carried Dr. *Barnes* with him the next Day, which was the *Tuesday* before *Shrove-Sunday*, and came on the *Wednesday* to *London*. In the Morning he was carried to Cardinal *Wolfey*, but could not speak with him 'till Night. Then said the Cardinal to the Company present, *Is this Dr. Barnes, that is accused of Heresy?* They answer'd: *Yea, and please your Grace, and we trust you shall find him reformatable, for he is both well learned and wise.*

WHAT, Mr. Doctor, (said the Cardinal) *had you not a sufficient Scope to teach the People, but my Golden Shoes, my Cushions, my Crosses did offend you?* He answer'd: *I spake nothing but the Truth out of the Scriptures.* And then he deliver'd him six written Sheets of Paper.

He received them smiling, and said: We perceive then, that you intend to stand to your Articles.

YES, said *Barnes*, that I do, by God's Grace, with your Lordship's Favour.

HE answer'd: Such as you are bear us little Favour. I will ask you a Question: Do you think it more necessary that I should have all this Royalty, because I represent the King's Person, or to sell all these Things, and give it to the Poor?

HE answer'd: I think it necessary to be sold and given to the Poor.

THEN answered he: Lo, Mr. Doctors, here is the wise Man you told me of. Then they kneeled down, and said: We desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.

THEN said he: Stand up; for your Sakes and the University, we will be good unto him. How say you Doctor, do you not know that I can dispense in all Matters within this Realm, as much as the Pope? He said: I know it.

WILL you then be ruled by us, and we will do all Things for your Honour, and for the Honour of the University?

HE answered: I thank your Grace for your Good-Will: I will stick to the Holy Scripture, according to the simple Talent that God hath lent me.

WELL, said he, thou shalt have thy Learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law. And he must directly have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox became his Sureties that Night, and so he came Home to Mr. Parnel's House again, where he immediately fell to Writing again and slept not. In the Morning he was committed to the Serjeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapter-House at *Westminster* before the Bishops and the Abbot of *Westminster*. They ask'd the

the Serjeant of Arms what was his Errand. He said he had brought one Dr. *Barnes* to be examin'd of Heresy. After a little Talk, they swore him, and laid his Articles to him. He answered them as he did the Cardinal before. Then they ask'd him, whether he would subscribe to his Articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; after that they committed him and young Mr. *Parnel* to the *Fleet*. Where they remained 'till *Saturday* Morning; and the Warden of the *Fleet* was commanded that no Man should speak with him.

ON *Saturday* he came again into the Chapter-House, and remained there 'till Five at Night. After long Disputations, Threatnings, and Scornings, they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great Agony, and thought rather to burn than abjure. But *Gardiner* and *Fox* perswaded him rather to abjure. Upon that, kneeling upon his Knees, he consented to abjure. Then they put him to an Oath, to execute all that they commanded him.

THE next Morning he was brought to *St. Paul's* Church, which was so full that no Man could get into it. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made for himself, with 36 Abbots, mitred Priors and Bishops, his Chaplains and Doctors in Gowns of Damask and Sattin, and he himself in Purple. There was a new Pulpit erected for the Bishop of *Rocheſter* to preach against *Luther* and Dr. *Barnes*; and great Baskets full of Books stood before them, which were commanded there to be burnt, and *Barnes*, after the Sermon, to go thrice about the Fire, and to cast in his Faggot.

THIS done, the Warden of the *Fleet* and the Knight Marshal were commanded to have him to

the *Fleet* again, and keep him there 'till the Lord Cardinal's Pleasure was known.

AFTER he had continued there half a Year, he was committed to be a free Prisoner at the *Austin Friars* in *London*. They complained again to the Lord Cardinal: Whereupon he was removed to the *Austin Friars* of *Northampton*, to be burnt. He himself understood nothing of this, but supposed that he should remain there in Free Prison: At last one Mr. *Horne*, who had brought him up, and was his special Friend, gave him Intelligence of the Writ which would be shortly sent down to burn him. Upon this he privately withdrew: And they were seven Days searching for him, but he was convey'd to *London* in a poor Man's Apparel. He tarried not there, but straitway took Ship, and went to *Antwerp*, and so to *Luther*, and there gave himself to Study. Here he became strong in *Christ*, got Favour both with the learned in *Christ* and foreign Princes in *Germany*, and was great with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Pomeran*, *Justus Jonas*, with the Duke of *Saxony*, and with the King of *Denmark*, who in the Time of *More* sent him with the *Lubecks*, as an Embassador to King *Henry VIII.* He lay with the *Lubeck's* Chancellor at the *Still-Yard*.

SIR *Thomas More*, then Chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the King would not let him. And ere he went, the *Lubecks* and he disputed with the Bishops in Defence of the Truth, and so he departed again without Restraint. After his going again to *Wittemberg*, he remained there to set forward his Works in Print; and after a while he returned in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, and continued a faithful Preacher in *London* all her Time. After that he was sent Embassador by King *Henry VIII.* to the Duke of *Cleve*, for the

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Marriage of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and was well accepted in all his Doings, 'till the Time that *Stephen Gardiner* came out of *France*. But after he came, neither Religion prosper'd, nor the Queen, nor *Cromwel*, nor the Preachers; who, after the Marriage of the Lady *Cleve*, never ceased 'till he had grafted the Marriage in another Stock. For not long after, *Dr. Barnes*, with his Brethren, were apprehended and carried before the King to *Hampton-Court*. Where the King (seeking his Safety) to bring *Winchester* and him agreed, granted him Leave to go Home with the Bishop to confer with him. But, they not agreeing, *Gardiner* sought by all Means how to entangle them in further Danger, which not long after was brought to pass. By Complaint made to the King, they were enjoined to preach three Sermons the next *Easter* following at the *Spittle*. At which Sermons *Stephen Gardiner* was present. *Barnes*, who preach'd the first Sermon, seeing *Gardiner* there, humbly desired him, in the Face of all the Audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his Hand; which he did. Yet notwithstanding shortly after, by the Means of his Report, they were sent for to *Hampton-Court*, and from thence carried to the *Tower*.

ABOUT the Year 1526, *Mr. Garret*, Curate in *Hony-lane*, *London*, came to *Oxford*, and brought with him sundry Books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with *Tindal's* first Translation of the New Testament in *English*, which Books he sold to divers Scholars in *Oxford*.

AFTER he had been there a while, News came that he was search'd for through all *London* to be apprehended as an Heretick, and to be imprison'd for selling Heretical Books. *Mr. Cole* of *Magdalen College*, who was well acquainted with *Mr. Garret*, gave Warning to a Friend of *Mr. Garret's*

ret's of this Search, and willed that he should, as secretly as he could, depart out of *Oxford*.

So the *Wednesday* before *Shrovetide*, *Garret* departed out of *Oxford*, in Order to go (upon the Recommendation of a Friend) to be Curate at *Stalbridge* in *Dorsetshire*. But the *Friday* next, in the Night-time, he came again to one *Radley's* House, where he lay before; and after Midnight he was apprehended there in his Bed by the two Proctors, and in the Morning was delivered to Dr. *Cottisford*, Master of *Lincoln* College, Commissary of the University, who kept him Prisoner in his own Chamber. When the Commissary, and all his Company were gone to Even-song, and had lock'd him alone in his Chamber, he hearing no body stir, put back the Lock with his Finger, and so came strait to *Gloucester* College.

HE there declared to his Friend, that after he was gone a Day's Journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his Heart would no other, but that he must needs return to *Oxford*. But now with deep Sighs, and Plenty of Tears, he prayed his Friend to help convey him away into *Wales*, and thence he would escape into *Germany*, if he could. Then putting on a sleeved Coat, he and his Friend knelt down together, and prayed to God with Plenty of Tears, to conduct and prosper him in his Journey, that he might escape his Enemies, if it were his good Pleasure; and then embracing each other he departed.

BUT he was soon taken again, by Mr. *Cole*, the Proctor, at a Place called *Hinksey*, a little beyond *Oxford*, and so being brought back, was committed to Ward: that done, he was convened before the Commissary, Dr. *London*, and Dr. *Higdon*, in *St. Mary's* Church, where they convicted him as

an Heretick, and afterwards compelled him to carry a Faggot in open Proceſſion. After that, he was ſent to *Osney*, there to be kept in Priſon till further Order was taken.

AFTER this, Mr. *Garret* flying from Place to Place, eſcaped their Tyranny, untill this preſent Time that he was again apprehended with Dr. *Barnes*, and *William Jerome*, ſometime Vicar of *Stepney*.

WILLIAM JEROME was a diligent Preacher of God's Word. It happened, that *Jerome*, in a Sermon preach'd at *Paul's* on the fourth Sunday in *Lent*, 1540, made Mention of *Hagar* and *Sarah*, declaring what theſe two ſignified. And ſhewed further, how that *Sarah* and her Child *Iſaac* and all they, that were *Iſaac's*, and born of the free Woman, *Sarah*, were freely juſtified: on the contrary, they that were born of *Hagar* the Bondwoman, were bound and under the Law, and cannot be freely juſtified. Not long after, he was convened before the King at *Weſtminſter*, and there accuſed for Erroneous Doctrine.

ONE Dr. *Wilson* diſputed with him, and defended that good Works juſtified before God, and were neceſſary and available to Salvation. To whom *Jerome* answered: That all Works, whatſoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of Salvation of themſelves, but only refer'd to the Mercy and Love of God, which directeth the Workers thereof; and yet it is at his Mercy and Goodneſs to accept them.

GARDINER hearing that *Barnes*, *Jerome*, and *Garret* were to preach the *Lent* following, 1541, at *Paul's* Croſs, to ſtop the Courſe of their Doctrine, ſent his Chaplain to the Biſhop of *London*,
the

the *Saturday* before the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, to have a Place for himself to preach at *Paul's*. It was appointed that he should preach the *Sunday* following, which *Sunday* was appointed before for *Barnes*. *Dr. Barnes* preach'd the third *Sunday* after, and sharply refuted all that *Gardiner* had said.

GARDINER immediately went to the King to complain. Whereupon, the King was highly incensed against *Barnes*, and with many sharp Words, rebuked his Doings in his privy Closet. Unto whom, when *Barnes* submitted himself; "Nay," said the King, Yield thee not to me, I am a mortal Man, and therewith rising up and turning to the Sacrament, and putting off his Bonnet, said: Yonder is the Master of us all, the Author of Truth, yield in Truth to him, and that Truth will I defend, and otherwise yield thee not unto me." There was much ado, and in Conclusion, this Order was taken, that *Barnes* should go apart with *Winchester*, to confer together of their Doctrine, certain Witnesses being appointed, to be as indifferent Hearers. At their first Entry of which Talk, *Gardiner*, (forgiving him, he said, all that was past) offered him the Choice, Whether he would answer or propose. The Question propounded was, Whether a Man could do any Thing good or acceptable before Justification?

THE King being advertised of the Conclusion of this Matter between *Barnes* and *Winchester*, was content, that *Barnes* should repair to the Bishop's House, at *London*, the *Monday* following.

BUT within two Days after his coming to the Bishop's House, he signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more.

DR. *Barnes* being order'd to preach before the King, preached contrary to that which before he had recanted. The like also did *Jerome* and *Garret* after him.

THEY were quickly after apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*, where they remained till *July 30*, which was two Days after the Death of the Lord *Cromwel*. Then not coming to any Answer, nor knowing any Cause of their Condemnation, without any publick Hearing, they were brought together from the *Tower*, to *Smithfield*.

HERE Dr. *Barnes* spoke thus: "I am come hither to be burned as an Heretick, and you shall hear my Belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous Doctrines I hold. I take GOD to record, I never (to my Knowledge, taught any erroneous Doctrine, but only those Things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my Sermons, I never maintained any Error, neither moved or gave Occasion of any Insurrection."

I Believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one GOD, that made all the World, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second Person, *Jesus Christ*, into the Womb of the most blessed Virgin *Mary*. And I believe, that his Death and Passion was the sufficient Ransom for the Sin of all the World. And I believe, that through his Death He overcame Sin, Death, and Hell, and that there is none other Satisfaction unto the Father, but this His Death and Passion only, and that no Work of Man did deserve any Thing of GOD, as touching our Justification, for I know the best Work that ever I did is impure and imperfect. And with this he cast abroad his Hands, and desired GOD to forgive him his Trespases. For a't 10', perchance, said he, you know nothing by me,

me, yet I confess, that my evil Thoughts be innumerable; wherefore, I beseech Thee, O LORD, not to enter into Judgment with me, for if thou straitly mark our Iniquities, who is able to abide thy Judgment? Wherefore I trust in no good Work that ever I did, but only in the Death of *Christ*. I do not doubt, but through Him to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Take me not here, that I speak against good Works, for they are to be done, and verily, they that do them not, shall never come into the Kingdom of GOD. We must do them, because they are commanded us of GOD, but not to Merit; for that is only the Death of *Christ*.

I BELIEVE that there is a Holy Church, a Company of all them that do profess *Christ*; and that all that have suffer'd and confessed his Name be Saints, and that they all praise GOD in Heaven; and I always have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled. Then said the Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." He said: "Mr. Sheriff, If I speak any Thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your Hand, and I will hold my Peace."

THEN one asked him his Opinion of praying to Saints? Then said he: "I have said before that they are worthy of all the Honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout the Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any Saints: whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to GOD. And if Saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you, Mr. Sheriff, within this half Hour, and for every Christian Man living in the Faith of *Christ*. If the Dead can pray for the Quick, I will surely pray for you."

THEN

THEN he spake to the Sheriff, and said: *Have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned? The Sheriff answer'd, No. Then said he: Is there any Man else that knoweth wherefore I die? Let them now speak, and I will make them Answer. And no Man answer'd. Then said he: Well, I am condemned by the Law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament; wherefore I cannot tell; but belike for Heresy, for we are like to burn. But I pray GOD to forgive them that have been the Occasion of it, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, if he have sought or wrought this my Death, either by Word or Deed, I pray GOD forgive him, and as freely as ever Christ forgave them that put Him to Death.*

I BESEECH you all to pray for the King's Grace, as I have done ever since I was in Prison, and do now, that GOD may give him Prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those Things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported to be a Preacher of Sedition and Disobedience unto the King's Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the Commandment of GOD to obey your Prince with all Humility, and with all your Heart, and that not only for Fear of the Sword, but also for Conscience Sake before GOD.

THEN spake he to the Sheriff, and said: *Mr. Sheriff, I require you on GOD's Behalf to have me commended unto the King's Grace, and to shew him that I require of his Grace these five Requests: First, That when his Grace hath receiv'd into his Hands all the Goods and Substance of the Abbies, it may please his Grace to bestow the said Goods, or some of them, to the Comfort of his poor Subjects.*

THE second Thing I desire his Grace, is, that he will see Matrimony be had in more Reverence than it is; and that Men for every Light Cause cast not off their Wives; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in Whoredom.

THE Third, That the abominable Swearers may be punished; for the Vengeance of GOD will come on them for their mischievous Oaths. Then he desired Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to desire him for the dear Blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave off that abominable Swearing which he used; for except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous End.

THE Fourth, That his Grace would set forth Christ's true Religion, and seeing he had begun, to go forward and make an End; for many Things have been done, but much more is to do. Now (said he) how many Petitions have I spoken of? And the People said, Four. Well, (said he) even these Four be sufficient, which I desire you, the King's Grace may be certify'd of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace may take Heed that he be not deceiv'd with false Preachers.

THEN he desired all Men, if he had said any Evil at any Time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any Man, or given any Occasion of Evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that Evil they took of him, and to bear Witness that he detested all evil Opinions and Doctrines against the Word of GOD, and that he died in the Faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. With these Words he desired them all to pray for him, and then turned about, and put off his Cloaths.

THE like Confession made also *Jerome* and *Garret*, reciting all the Articles of the Christian Faith, briefly declaring their Minds upon every Article; whereby the People might understand that there was no Cause nor Error in their Faith; protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their Sovereign Lord the King, whom they prayed the LORD long to continue amongst them, with his most dear Son Prince *Edward*. Which done, *Jerome* added this Exhortation:

I SAY unto you, good Brethren, that GOD hath bought us with no small Price, neither with Gold nor Silver, but with his most precious Blood. Be not unthankful therefore, but do as much as to Christian Men belongeth, to fulfill his Commandments. If GOD hath sent thee Plenty, help thy Neighbour that hath Need; and bear your Cross with Christ. Consider what Reproof, Slander, and Reproach He suffered, and how patiently He endured all Things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his meer Goodness, and not of our Deserving. For if we could merit our own Salvation, Christ would not have died for us. Now therefore let all Christians put no Trust in their Works, but in the Blood of Christ, to whom I commit my Soul, beseeching you all to pray to GOD for me, and for my Brethren here, that our Souls leaving these wretched Carcasses, may depart in the true Faith of Christ.

GARRET ended his Protestation as followeth: I also detest and refuse all Heresies; and if either by Negligence or Ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask GOD Mercy, or if I have been so rash in Preaching, whereby any Person hath taken Offence, or evil Opinion, I ask him, and all other Persons whom I have any Way offended, Forgiveness. Notwithstanding I never preach'd wil-

lingly any Thing against GOD's holy Word, or contrary to the true Faith, but have always, according to my little Wit, set forth the Honour of GOD, and the right Obedience to his Laws, and to the King. And if I could have done better, I would. And I pray GOD send the King's Grace good and godly Counsel, to his Glory, to the King's Honour, and the Increase of Virtue in this his Realm. And now I yield my Soul up unto Almighty GOD, trusting and believing that He of his infinite Mercy, for his Promise made in the Blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me all my Sins, whereby I most grievously from my Youth offended his Majesty; wherefore I ask Him Mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this Pain, and die stedfastly in true Faith, Hope, and Charity.

AND so after their Prayer made, taking each other by the Hands, and kissing one another, they quietly offer'd themselves to the Hands of the Tormentors, with such Patience, as might well testify the Goodness of their Cause.





T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

JOHN PORTER.

EDMUND BONNER, Bishop of *London* (in the Days of the Lord *Cromwel*) being then Embassador at *Paris*, set forward the printing of the Bible in that great Volume: promising moreover, that he would for his Part have six of those Bibles set up in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*. Which, at his coming home, he perform'd; according to the King's Proclamation.

THE Bibles thus standing in St. *Paul's*, by the Commandment of the King, and the Appointment of the Bishop, many used to resort to the Hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible Voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no Danger; and no more there was, so long as the Days of *Cromwel* lasted. After he was gone, amongst sundry Persons which frequented the Reading of the aforesaid Bible, one *John*

Porter used sometimes that godly Exercise, to the edifying as well of himself, as of other. This *Porter* was a fresh young Man, and of a big Stature: Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of Sermons, became very expert. The Bible then being set up on divers Pillars in *St. Paul's Church*, fixed unto the same with Chains, great Multitudes resorted thither to hear this *Porter*, because he could read well, and had an Audible Voice. *Bonner* and his Chaplains being grieved, sent for *Porter*, and rebuked him very sharply for Reading. But *Porter* answer'd him: *That he had done nothing contrary to the Law, neither contrary to his Advertisements which he had fix'd in Print over every Bible.*

However *Bonner* sent him to *Newgate*, where he was miserably fetter'd both Legs and Arms, with a Collar of Iron about his Neck fasten'd to the Wall in the Dungeon. Being so cruelly handled, he sent for a Kinsman of his; who, seeing him in this miserable Case, intreated *Jewet*, then Keeper of *Newgate*, that he might be released out of those cruel Irons, and so through Friendship and Money, had him up among other Prisoners, which lay there for Felony and Murder; where *Porter*, hearing and seeing their Wickedness and Blasphemy, exhorted them to Amendment of Life, and gave them such Instructions, as he had learned of the Scriptures. For this he was complain'd on, and so carried down, and laid in the lowest Dungeon of all, oppress'd with Bolts and Irons, where within six or eight Days he was found dead.

THE Night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near the Place where *Porter* lay, heard him piteously groan and make a lamentable Noise; where some suppose, that he was put in certain
 strait

strait Irons, called, *The Devil on the Neck*, being devised, after an horrible Sort, to strain and wrinch the Neck of a Man with his Legs together, in such a Manner, that the more he stirreth the straiter it presseth him, so that within three or four Hours it breaketh and crusheth a Man's Back and Body in Pieces.





T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

*Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer,
and Anthony Pearson:*

With the PERSECUTION of *John
Marbeck.*

IN the Year of our Lord 1544, there was one *Robert Testwood*, dwelling in the City of *London*, who for his Knowledge in Musick had so great a Name, that the Musicians in *Windsor* College thought him a very worthy Man to have a Place among them. Whereupon they informed *Dr. Sampson*, their Dean, and he was soon after removed to *Windsor*. He was many Times troubled here for leaning to the New Doctrine; as was *Henry Filmer*, a Tradesman of *Windsor*, and a Priest named *Anthony Pearson*, who, about the Year 1540, was greatly esteem'd among the People, who flocked so much to his Sermons, which he
made

made both in the Town and Country, that the Papists were sore offended. About a Year after, Dr. *London*, Warden of *New College* in *Oxford*, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of *Windsor*, who, at his Coming, soon learned what Hereticks were in the Town. On this he conspired with some others to have all the Arch-hereticks, as they termed them, in *Windsor* and thereabout, indicted for Heresy. And first they drew out certain Notes of *Pearson's* Sermons, which he had preached against the Popish Mass. That done, they put in Sir *Philip Hobby* with his Wife, Sir *Tho. Cardine*, Mr. *Edmund Harman*, and Mr. *Thomas Weldon*, as chief Aiders, Helpers, and Maintainers of *Anthony Pearson*. Also they noted Dr. *Haynes*, Dean of *Exeter*, and a Prebendary of *Windsor*, as a Receiver of suspected Persons.

THEN they got privy Spies to walk up and down the Church, to hear what Men said, and to mark who did not reverence the Sacrament at the Elevation Time, and to bring his Name to Dr. *London*. When they had gathered as much as they could, Dr. *London* gave the Account to the Bishop of *Winchester*, with a great Complaint against the Hereticks that were in *Windsor*.

BISHOP *Gardiner*, spying a Time convenient, went to the King, complaining what a Sort of Hereticks his Grace had in his Realm, and forthwith procured a Commission for a private Search to be made in the Town of *Windsor*.

MR. *Ward* and Mr. *Fachel* of *Reading*, were appointed Commissioners, who came to *Windsor* the *Thursday* before *Palm-Sunday*, in the Year of our LORD 1543, and began their Search about Eleven at Night. In which Search were apprehended *Robt. Benet*, *Henry Filmer*, *John Marbeck*,
and

and *Robert Testwood*, for certain Books and Writings found in their Houses against the six Articles, and kept in Ward 'till *Monday* after, and then all fetch'd up to the Council, except *Testwood*, with whom the Bailiffs of the Town were charg'd, he being ill with the Gout. The other three, being examined before the Council, were committed to Prison, *Filmer* and *Benet* to the Bishop of *London's* Prison, and *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsea*.

THIS *Marbeck* had begun a great Work in *English*, called *The Concordance of the Bible*: Which Book, being not half finish'd, was among his other Books taken in the Search, and had up to the Council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole Work lay before the Bishop of *Winchester*, at the upper End of the Board. The Bishop beholding the Man a while, said: *Marbeck*, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for? No, my Lord, said he, unless it be for a certain Search made of late in *Windsor*. Thou knowest the Matter well enough, quoth the Bishop; and taking up a Quire of the Concordance in his Hand, said: Understandest thou the *Latin* Tongue? No, said he, but simply. No, said the Bishop! And with that spake Mr. *Wrisley*, Secretary to the King, He saith but simply. I cannot tell, quoth the Bishop, but the Book is translated Word for Word out of the *Latin* Concordance; and if such a Book should go forth in *English*, it would destroy the *Latin* Tongue.

AFTER a while Sir *Anthony Wingfield* came forth, and calling for *Marbeck*, committed him to one of the Guard, saying: Take this Man, and have him to the *Marshalsea*, and tell the Keeper that it is the Council's Pleasure he shall treat him gently, and if he have any Money in his Purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him,

left

lest the Prisoners take it, and portion it out to him as he shall have Need. And so the Messenger departed with *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsea*, and did his Commission faithfully, both to the Keeper and Prisoner.

ON the next Day, which was *Tuesday*, by Eight o'Clock in the Morning, there came Mr. *Knight*, one of the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Gentlemen, into the *Marshalsea*, whose Man brought after him two great Books, and finding *Marbeck* walking up and down in the Chapel, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in Irons. I had no such Commandment, said he, for the Messenger which brought him last Night from the Council, said: It was their Pleasure he should be gently used. My Lord, said Mr. *Knight*, will not be content with you: And so taking the Books of his Man, he called for a Room, up to which he carried the Prisoner, and laying the Books upon a Bed, sat down, and said: *Marbeck*, my Lord doth favour thee well for some good Qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to take Heed lest thou cast away thy self wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thy self much Good; if not, thou shalt do thy self much Harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy Case, because he hath always heard a good Report of thee; wherefore now play the wise Man. Thou art acquainted with a great Sort of Hereticks, and knowest much of their Secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my Lord's Request, he will procure thy Deliverance out of Hand, and prefer thee to a better Living.

ALAS, Sir, said he, what Secrets do I know? I am but a poor Man, and was never worthy to be so trusted.

PERHAPS, said Mr. *Knight*, thou fearest to utter any Thing of them, because they were thy Friends, lest they should hear thereof, and withdraw their Friendship from thee; but thou needest not fear that, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any Man else.

WITH that the Water stood in *Marbeck's* Eyes. Why weepest thou, said *Knight*? Oh, Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; these Men have done me Good; wherefore I beseech the Living GOD to comfort them as I would be comforted my self.

THEN Mr. *Knight*, after asking some Questions, called up his Man to take away the Books, and departed, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Chamber, the Door being fast shut.

Two Hours after, *Knight* came again, with a Sheet of Paper folded in his Hand, and sat down upon the Bed-side as before, and said: By my Troth, *Marbeck*, my Lord seeth so much Wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is Pity to do thee Good. Thou must be plainer with my Lord, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou thinkest. How plain will his Lordship have me to be, Sir, said he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe Conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordship's Pleasure. What tellest thou me, quoth *Knight*, of thy Conscience? Thou mayest with a safe Conscience utter those that be Hereticks. If I knew, Sir, said he, who were an Heretick indeed, it were something; but if I should accuse him to be an Heretick that is none, what a Worm would that be in my Conscience so long as I lived? Yea, it were a great deal better for me to be out of this Life, than to live in such Torment. In Faith, quoth *Knight*, thou knowest as well who be Hereticks, as I know
this

this Paper to be in my Hand ; but it is no Matter, for they shall all be sent for and examin'd ; and thinkest thou that they will not tell of thee all that they can ? Whatsoever, quoth he, they shall say of me, let them do it in the Name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any Man else, than I know. Well, said *Knight*, if thou wilt do so, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now peradventure thy Wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call Things to Remembrance, I have brought thee Ink and Paper, that thou mayest write such Things as shall come to thy Mind. Then he laid down the Ink and Paper, and went his Way.

HEREUPON *Marbeck* was full of Heaviness ; and falling down with Tears, cried out to God, and said :

O most merciful Father of Heaven, Thou that knowest the secret Doings of all Men, have Mercy upon thy poor Prisoner who is destitute of all Help and Comfort. Assist me, O LORD, with thy special Grace, that to save this vile Body, which shall turn to Corruption at his Time, I may not say or write any Thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian Brother ; but rather, O LORD, let this vile Flesh suffer at thy Will and Pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's Sake.

THEN he rose up, and at last writ these Words : *Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such Things as I know of my Fellows ; pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to Remembrance any Thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be the Reading of the New Testament ; more than this I know not.*

WHEN Mr. *Knight* came again, he found *Marbeck* walking up and down the Chamber. How now, said he, hast thou written Nothing? Yes, Sir, said he, as much as I know. Well said, quoth *Knight*; and took up the Paper. Which when he had read, he cast it from him in a great Fume, swearing by our LORD's Body, that he would not for twenty Pounds carry it to his Master. Therefore, said he, go to it again, and advise thy self better, or else thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone. By my Troth, Sir, said *Marbeck*, if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven Years, I can say no more than I have said. Then wilt thou repent it, said *Knight*; and so putting up his Pen and Ink, departed with the Paper in his Hand.

THE next Day, which was *Wednesday*, by Eight o'Clock in the Morning, the Bishop sent for *Marbeck*, to his House at St. *Mary-Overy's*; and as he was entering the Hall, he saw the Bishop himself coming out at a Door in the upper End thereof, with a Roll in his Hand; and going toward the great Window, he called him to him, and said: *Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thy self? No, my Lord, said he, I trust. Yes, said the Bishop, thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a Devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy Vocation was another Way. My Lord, said he, I have done my Part, according to that little Knowledge that GOD hath given me. And why the Devil, said the Bishop, didst thou not hold thee there? And with that he flang away from the Window out of the Hall, the poor Man following him from Place to Place, 'till he had brought him into a long Gallery, and being there, the Bishop began on this wise: Ab Sirrah, the Nest of you is broken, I trow. And unfolding his Roll, (which was about an Ell long) he said: Behold, here is the whole*
Pack

Pack of your Sect, and you will utter none of them. Alas, my Lord, said he, how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing? Well, said the Bishop, if thou wilt needs cast away thy self, who can let thee? What Helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy Book? Forsooth, my Lord, said he, none. None, said the Bishop, how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without Help. Truly, my Lord, said he, I did it without the Help of any, save GOD alone. Nay, said the Bishop, I do not discommend thy Diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that Thing which pertaineth not to thee?

THEN one of the Bishop's Men came up and told him, the Priest was ready to go to Mass.

THE Bishop then went down to hear Mass, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Gallery. Then Mr. *Knight* came up again with Ink and Paper. Come, Sirrah, said he, my Lord will have you occupied till Mass be done. *Marbeck* calling upon GOD again in his Mind, wrote a few Words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the Day before. When the Bishop was come from Mass, and had looked on the Writing, he push'd it from him, saying: What will this do? It hath neither Head nor Foot. This is a marvellous Sect, for the Devil cannot make one of them betray another. Then the Bishop's Gentlemen made him ready to go to Court. And when his white Rochet was on him, and all: Well *Marbeck*, said he, I am now going to the Court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the King's Majesty for thee; but seeing thou art so wilfull and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the Devil for me.

THEN was he carried down by the Bishop's Men, with many railing Words into the Hall, where he was received of his Keeper, and carried to Prison again. It was not half an Hour after, e'er the Bishop sent one of his Gentlemen to the Keeper, called *Stokes*, commanding him to put Irons upon *Marbeck*, and to keep him fast shut up in a Chamber alone, and to see that he spake to no Man, and no Man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of Person (not his own Wife) to come and see him, or minister any Thing unto him.

ABOUT three Weeks before *Whitsunday*, *Marbeck* was sent for to the Bishop of *London's* House, where sat in Commission, Dr. *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Skip*, Bishop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Oking*, Dr. *May*, and the Bishop of *London's* Scribe, having before them, all *Marbeck's* Books. Then said the Bishop of *Salisbury*: *Marbeck*, we are sent from the King's Majesty, to examine thee of certain Things, whereof thou must be sworn to answer us truly. I am content, my LORD, quoth he, to tell you the Truth so far as I can, and so took his Oath. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* laid before him his three Books of Notes, demanding whose Hand they were. He answer'd: They were his own Hand, and Notes which he had gathered out of other Men's Works, six Years ago. Methinks, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, thou hast read all Sorts of Books, both good and bad. So I have, my Lord, quoth he. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* drew out a Quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the Bishop of *Hereford*, who looking upon it a while, lifted up his Eyes to Dr. *Oking*, and said: This Man hath been better occupied than a great Sort of our Priests. To the which he made no Answer.

THEN

THEN said the Bishop of *Salisbury*: Whose Help hadst thou in setting forth this Book? Truly, my Lord, quoth he, no Help at all. How couldst thou, quoth the Bishop, invent such a Book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an Instructor? I will tell your Lordship, quoth he, what Instructor I had to begin it. When *Thomas Matthew's* Bible came first out in Print, I was desirous to have one of them; and being a poor Man not able to buy one, determined to borrow one, and write it out. And when I had written out the five Books of *Moses*, and was enter'd into the Book of *Joshua*, my Friend, Mr. *Turner*, chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant. And when I had told him the Cause: Tush, quoth he, thou goest about a tedious Labour. But this were a profitable Work for thee, to set out a Concordance in *English*. A Concordance, said I, what is that? Then he told me, it was a Book to find out any Word in the Bible, and that there was such a one in *Latin* already. Then I told him, I had no Learning to go about such a Thing. Enough, quoth he, for that Matter; for it requireth not so much Learning as Diligence. What is that *Turner*, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*? Marry, quoth *May*, an honest learned Man, sometime a Fellow in *Magdalen* College, in *Oxford*. How couldst thou, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, with this Instruction, bring it into this Order and Form, as it is? I borrowed a *Latin* Concordance, quoth he, and began to practise my Wit, and at last, with great Labour and Diligence, brought it into this Order, as your Lordship sees. A good Wit with Diligence, quoth the Bishop of *Hereford*, may bring hard Things to pass. It is great Pity, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, he had not the *Latin* Tongue. So it is, said Dr. *May*. Yet I cannot believe, said the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that he hath done any

more in this Work, than written it out after some other.

MY Lords, said *Marbeck*, I beseech you to grant me one Request. Say what thou wilt, said the Bishop. I am loth any other should be punished for my Fault. Therefore to clear all Men, this is my Request, that ye will try me in the rest of the Book. Ye see that I am but yet at the Letter *L.* beginning now at *M.* take what Word ye will of that Letter, and give me the Words in a Piece of Paper, and set me in a Place alone, with Ink and Paper, the *English* Bible, and the *Latin* Concordance; and if I bring you not these Words written in the same Order that the rest is, then was it not I that did it.

By my Truth, *Marbeck*, said the Bishop of *Ely*, that is honestly spoken, and then thou wilt bring many out of Suspicion. That he will, said they all. Then they bade Dr. *Oking* draw out such Words as he thought best, and so rose up; and in the mean Time fell into other familiar Talk with *Marbeck*, who perceiving the Bishops so disposed, besought them to tell him in what Danger he stood. Shall I tell thee *Marbeck*, said the Bishop of *Sarum*? Thou art in a better Case than any of thy Fellows, of whom there be some would give 40*l.* to be in no worse Case than thou art. Then came Dr. *Oking* with the Words he had written, and while the Bishops were perusing, Dr. *Oking* said to *Marbeck*: Good Mr. *Marbeck* make Haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered.

WHEN Dinner was done, the Bishop of *Sarum* came down into the Hall, commanding Ink and Paper to be given to *Marbeck*, and the two Books to one of his Men to go with him; at whose going,

ing, he demanded of the Bishop, What Time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? Against To-morrow this Time, said the Bishop, and so departed.

MARBECK, now fell to his Business, and by the next Day when the Bishop sent for him again, he had written more than three Sheets of Paper, in the same Order and Form he had done the rest. When he had delivered it to the Bishop of *Sarum*, he marvelled and said: Well *Marbeck*, thou hast now put me out of all Doubt. I assure thee, said he, (putting up the Paper into his Bosom) the King shall see this e'er I be 24 Hours older; but he dissembled every Word, and thought nothing less. For afterward, the Matter being known to his Grace, what a Book the poor Man had begun, which the Bishops would not suffer him to finish; the King said: He was better occupied than they that took it from him. So *Marbeck* departed from the Bishop of *Sarum* to Prison, and heard no more of his Book.

WHEN the Time drew nigh, that the King (who was newly married to Lady *Katherine Parr*) was to make his Progress abroad, *Anthony Pearson*, *Henry Filmer*, and *John Marbeck*, were sent to *Windsor* by the Sheriff's-men, the *Saturday* before *St. James's Day*, and laid fast in the Town-Jail; and *Testwood* (who had kept his Bed) brought out of his House upon Crutches, and laid with them; but as for *Benet* (which should have been the fifth Man) his Chance was to be sick of the Pestilence, and having a great Sore upon him, he was left behind in the Bishop of *London's* Jail, whereby he escaped the Fire.

THESE Men being brought to *Windsor*, there was a Sessions holden the *Thursday* following; against

gainst which Sessions (by the Council of Dr. *London*) were all the Farmers belonging to the College of *Windsor*, warn'd to appear, because they could not pick out Papists enough in the Town to go upon the Jury. The Judges were these: Dr. *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *William Essex*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, and Sir *Humphry Foster*, Mr. *Franklin*, Dean of *Windsor*, and Mr. *Fachel* of *Reading*.

WHEN these had taken their Places, and the Prisoners were brought forth before them, the Clerk of the Peace called *Anthony Pearson*, and read his Indictment, which was: That he had spoke against the Host two Years before, in a Sermon preach'd at a Place called *Wingfield*.

To this *Pearson* answer'd: I will be try'd by God and his Holy Word, whether this be Heresy or no. So long as I preached the Bishop of *Rome* and his Traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach *Christ*, and his Gospel, ye have always sought my Life. But it maketh no Matter, for when you have taken your Pleasure of my Body, it shall not lie in your Powers to hurt my Soul. Thou callest us Thieves, quoth the Bishop. I say (quoth *Anth. Pearson*) ye are not only Thieves, but Murtherers; except ye preach the Word of God purely and sincerely to the People, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all Idolatry, Superstition, and Hypocrisy, for your own Lucre and Glory's Sake. Then spake *Symonds* his Accuser, standing within the Bar: It is a Pity this Fellow had not been burnt long ago. When we shall both appear before the Tribunal Seat of *Christ*, (said *Anthony*) then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved to stand in this Place. Shall I have so
long

long a Day? quoth *Symonds*, (holding up his Finger): Nay, then I care not.

THEN *Testwood* was called, and his Indictment read, which was that he should say, when the Priest was lifting up the Sacrament, What wilt thou lift up so high? What yet higher? take Heed; let him not fall.

AFTER which the Bishop said: Yes, and thou hast been seen, when the Priest lifted up the Sacrament over his Head, to look down on thy Book, or some other Way. I beseech you, my Lord, (quoth *Testwood*) whereon did he look that marked me so well? Marry, (quoth the King's Attorney) he could not be better occupied, than to mark such Hereticks that so despised the blessed Sacrament.

THEN *Filmer* was called, and his Indictment read, setting forth; That he should say, the Sacrament of the Altar was nothing but a Similitude or a Ceremony; which they had brought his Brother, a poor labouring Man of *Clewer*, to testify.

THEN was *Marbeck* called, and and his Indictment read, to the same Effect. To this he answer'd: That the Words whereof they had indicted him was not his; but the Words of *John Calvin*, which he had only written out, and that long before the six Articles came forth; so that now he was discharg'd of that Offence, by the King's General Pardon.

THEN said *Filmer*: The Law is, I should have two lawful Witnesses, and here is but one. Nay, quoth the King's Attorney, thine own Brother is Witness against thee, which is more than Two other Witnesses.

THEN

THEN the Jury was called, to whom Sir *Humphry Foster* spake: *Masters, you see there is no Man that layeth any Thing to the Charge of this poor Man Marbeck, saving he hath writ certain Things of other Men's Sayings, whereof he is discharged by the King's General Pardon.*

THEN the Jury went to the Chamber over the Place where the Judges sate, and in the mean Time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, saving the Bishop, Sir *William Essex*, and *Fachel*, which three sate still upon the Bench 'till all was done. And when the Jury had been in the Chamber about a Quarter of an Hour, one of them came down to the Bishop, and talked with him a good while; whereby many conjectur'd that they could not agree concerning *Marbeck*. But he had not been gone long up again, before they came down to give their Verdict; and one *Hide*, dwelling beside *Abingdon*, speaking for the rest, said, they were all Guilty.

THEN the Judges beholding the Prisoners a good while (some with watery Eyes) made Curtesy who should give Judgment. *Fachel* requiring the Bishop to do it, he said, *He might not*. The others being required, said: *They would not*. Then said *Fachel*: *It must be done, one must do it, and if no Man will, then I will*. And so *Fachel*, being lowest of all the Bench, gave Judgment. Then *Marbeck*, being the last upon whom Sentence was given, cried unto the Bishop: *Ah, my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two Bishops. You said then, that I was in better Case than any of my Fellows, and is your Saying come to this? Ah, my Lord, you have deceiv'd me*. Then the Bishop, casting up his Hand, said: *He could not do with all*.

The

The Prisoners being had away, prepared themselves to die on the Morrow, comforting one another in the Death and Passion of *Christ* their Master; yea, such heavenly Talk was amongst them that Night, that the Hearers watching the Prison without, whereof the Sheriff himself was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to shed Plenty of Tears, as themselves confessed.

On the Morrow, which was *Friday*, as the Prisoners were preparing themselves to go to suffer, Word was brought that they should not die that Day. The Cause was this, The Bishop of *Sarum* had sent a Letter by one of the Sheriff's Gentlemen, to the Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Favour of *Marbeck*. At the Sight of which Letter, the Bishop straightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

WHICH being granted, he caused a Warrant to be made out of Hand, delivering the same to the Messenger, who returned with great Joy, bringing good News to the Town, of *Marbeck's* Pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

ON *Saturday* in the Morning, *Pearson* seeing much People in the Prison, began to say the LORD's Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly Declaration, wherein he continued till the Officers came to fetch them away. Then taking their Leave of *Marbeck*, they praised God for his Deliverance, wishing to him the Increase of Godliness and Virtue, and besought him heartily to help them with his Prayer unto God, to make them strong in their Afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

As the Prisoners passed through the People in the Streets, they desired all the faithful People to
prey

pray for them, and to stand fast in the Truth of the Gospel, and not to be moved at their Afflictions, for it was the happiest Thing that ever came to them. And ever as the Priests who rode on each Side the Prisoners, would perswade them to turn to Mother Church; *Pearson* would cry: Away, away with your *Romish* Doctrine, and all your Trumpery, for we will no more of it. When *Filmer* was come to his Brother's Door, he called for his Brother, but he could not be seen.

WHEN he had called three or four Times, and saw he came not, he said: And will he not come? Then GOD forgive him and make him a good Man. And so going forth, they came to the Place of Execution, where *Anthony Pearson*, with a cheerful Countenance, embraced the Post in his Arms, and kissing it, said: Now, welcome mine own sweet Wife: for this Day shalt thou and I be married together in the Love and Peace of GOD.

WHEN they were all bound to the Stakes, *Filmer* rejoicing in the LORD, said: Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your Hands unto GOD, for after this sharp Breakfast, I trust we shall have a good Dinner in the Kingdom of *Christ* our LORD and Redeemer. At the which Words, *Testwood*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, desired the LORD to receive his Spirit. And *Anthony Pearson*, pulling the Straw unto him, laid a good Quantity thereof upon his Head, saying: This is GOD's Hat; now I am dressed like a true Soldier of *Christ*, by whose Merits only, I trust this Day to enter into his Joy. And so yielded up their Souls to the Father of Heaven, in the Faith of his dear Son, *Jesus Christ*.



T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

Mr. KERBY *and* ROGER CLARK.

MR. J. KERBY, and ROGER CLARK, of *Mendelsham*, were apprehended at *Ipswich*, in the Year 1546, and brought before the Lord *Wentworth*, with other Commissioners appointed there to examine them.

IN the mean Time *Kerby* and *Clark*, being in the Goaler's House, named *John Bird*, an honest and good Man, (who had Checks divers Times at the Bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a Keeper) came in Mr. *Robt. Wingfield*, Son and Heir of *Humphry Wingfield*, Knight; who said to *Kerby*: Remember, the Fire is hot; take Heed of thine Enterprize, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The Terror is great, the Pain will be extreme, and Life is sweet. *Kerby* answer'd: Ah, Mr. *Wingfield*, be at my Burning, and you shall say,

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There stands a Christian Soldier in the Fire: For I know that Fire, Sword, and all other Things, are in the Hands of GOD, and He will suffer no more to be laid upon us than He will give Strength to bear. Ah, *Kerby*, said Mr. *Wingfield*, if thou art at that Point I will bid thee Farewel; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn. And so saying that he would pray for them, he shook Hands with them, and went away.

WHEN *Kerby* and *Clark* came to the Judgment-seat, they lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven with great Devotion, making their Prayers secretly to GOD for some Time.

THAT done, their Articles were declared to them: And then it was demanded, Whether they believed, that after the Words spoken by a Priest, there were not the very Body and Blood of *Christ*, and no Bread?

THEY answered: No; they did not believe so; but that they believed the Sacrament, which *Christ Jesus* instituted at his last Supper, was only to put all Men in Remembrance of his precious Death and Blood-Shedding for the Remission of Sins, and that there was neither Flesh nor Blood to be eaten with the Teeth, but Bread and Wine, consecrated to an Holy Use.

SENTENCE was then given upon them both, *Kerby* to be burned in the said Town on the next *Saturday*, and *Clark* to be burn'd at *Bury* the *Monday* after. *Kerby*, when his Judgment was given by the Lord *Wentworth*, holding up his Hands, and bowing himself devoutly, said: *Praised be Almighty GOD!* And so stood still without any more Words.

THEN

THEN the Lord *Wentworth* talked secretly, putting his Head behind another Justice that sat between them. *Clark* perceiving that, said with a loud Voice: Speak out my Lord, and if you have any Thing contrary to your Conscience, ask God Mercy; speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make Answer openly, even before Him that shall judge all Men.

THE Lord *Wentworth*, somewhat blushing and changing his Countenance, said: I spake Nothing of you; nor have I done any Thing, but according to Law. Then was *Kerby* and *Clark* sent forth; *Kerby* to Prison there, and *Clark* to St. *Edmund-Bury*. And as they were going, one of them burst out with a loud Voice, and said: *Fight for your God, for he hath not long to continue.*

ON *Saturday*, about Ten o'Clock, *Kerby* was brought to the Market-place in *Ipswich*, where a Stake was ready, with Wood, Broom, and Straw. Having put off his Cloaths to his Shirt, and putting a Night-Cap upon his Head, he was fastened to the Stake with Irons. The Lord *Wentworth*, with all the Justices of those Quarters, were in a Gallery to see his Execution, and also to hear what *Kerby* said, and a great Number of People, about 2000 by Estimation. There was also in the Gallery, with the Lord *Wentworth*, Dr. *Rugham*. Then Silence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to expound the 6th Chapter of St. *John*. And as oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, *Kerby* told the People that he said true, and bid the People believe him: But when he did otherwise, he told him: You say not true; believe him not good People. When the Doctor had ended, he said to *Kerby*: Thou good Man, dost not thou believe that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh and Blood of *Christ*,

and no Bread. *Kerby* answer'd: I do not believe so: I believe that in the Sacrament, that *Jesus Christ* instituted at his last Supper, his Death and Passion, for the Redemption of the World, is to be remembered. After that the Doctor spake not one Word more.

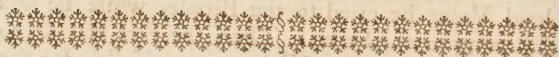
THEN said the Under-Sheriff to *Kerby*: Hast thou any Thing more to say? Yes, Sir, said he, if you will give me Leave. Say on, said the Sheriff.

THEN *Kerby*, lifting up his Hands, said the Hymn, *Te Deum*, and the Belief, with divers Prayers in the *English* Tongue. Whilst *Kerby* was doing this, Lord *Wentworth* screen'd himself behind one of the Posts in the Gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said *Kerby*, I have done: you may execute your Office, good Mr. Sheriff. Then Fire was set to the Wood, and with a loud Voice he called unto GOD, smiting on his Breast, and holding up his Hands so long as his Remembrance would serve, and so ended his Life, the People giving Shouts, and praising GOD, with great Admiration of his Constancy.

ON Monday, about Ten o'Clock, *Roger Clark* was brought out of Prison, and went on Foot to *Southgate*, in *Bury*; and by the Way the Procession met with them, and he would not bow Cap nor Knee, but with most vehement Words rebuked that Idolatry and Superstition. When he was come without the Gate, to the Place of Execution, the Stake being ready, and the Wood lying by, he kneeled down, and said *Magnificat* in the *English* Tongue, making a Paraphrase upon it; wherein he declared, how the blessed Virgin MARY, who might as well rejoice in Pureness as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. And what sayest thou *John Baptist* (said he) the greatest of all
Men's

Men's Children? *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World.* Thus with a loud Voice he cried to the People, while he was fastening to the Stake. Then the Fire was set to him, where he suffered Pains unmercifully; for the Wood was green, and would not burn; and moreover, being set in a Pitch-barrel, with some Pitch sticking by the Sides, he was therewith sore pained. At length one standing by took a Faggot-stick, and striking at the Ring of Iron about his Neck, struck him so upon the Head, that he sunk down into the Fire, and so was dissolved.





THE
MARTYRDOMS
OF

Mrs. ANNE ASKEW, NICHOLAS
BELENIAN, JOHN ADAMS, and
JOHN LACELS.

ANNE ASKEW was first examined *March,*
1545.

FIRST, *Christopher Dare* ask'd her at *Sadlers-Hall*: If she did not believe the Sacrament was the very Body of *Christ*. Then she demanded of him: Why *St. Stephen* was stoned to Death? He said, He could not tell. Then she said, No more will I answer your vain Question.

SECONDLY, he said: There was a Woman which testified, that she had read, how GOD was not in Temples made with Hands. Then she shewed him what *Stephen* and *Paul* had said in the 7th and 17th Chapters of *Acts*.

THIRDLY, he ask'd her, Why she said, she had rather read five Lines in the Bible, than hear
five

five Masses in the Temple? She answer'd: Because the one edified her greatly, and the other nothing at all.

FOURTHLY, he charg'd her with Saying, that if an ill Priest ministred, it was the Devil, and not GOD. She answer'd: That she never spake any such Thing. But her Saying was: That whosoever he were that ministred, his ill Conditions could not hurt her Faith, but she received nevertheless, the Body and Blood of *Christ*.

FIFTHLY, he ask'd her, What she said concerning Confession. She answer'd: That every Man ought to confess his Faults to another, and the one to pray for the other.

SIXTHLY, he asked, What she said to the King's Book? She answer'd: I can say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

SEVENTHLY, he asked her, If she had the Spirit of GOD in her? She answer'd: I have not, I am but a Reprobate or a Cast-away. Then he said, he had sent for a Priest to examine her, who was at Hand.

THE Priest then came and ask'd her, What she said to the Sacrament of the Altar, and required much to know her Opinion therein. But she desired him again, to hold her excused concerning this Matter: and would make him no other Answer, because she perceiv'd him to be a Papist.

LASTLY, he ask'd her, If she did not think, that Masses help'd the Souls departed? She said: It is great Idolatry to believe more in them, than in the Death which *Christ* died for us.

THEN

THEN they had her thence to my Lord Mayor; who examined her, and she answered him in all Things as she answer'd before. Besides this, my Lord Mayor falsly charged her with asking, Whether a Mouse eating the Host, received GOD or no? [This Question she declar'd, she never ask'd, but they ask'd it of her.] Whereunto she made no Answer, but smiled.

THEN the Bishop's Chancellor remov'd her, and said, That she was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. *Paul* (he said) forbad Women to speak or talk of the Word of GOD. She answer'd: St. *Paul* said, a Woman ought not to speak in the Congregation by Way of Teaching. And then she ask'd him how many Women he had seen go into the Pulpit and preach? He said, he never saw any. Then said she, you ought to find no Fault with poor Women, except they offend the Law.

THEN the Lord Mayor commanded her to Custody. She asked him, if Sureties would not serve? and he answer'd shortly, he would take none. Then she was had to the *Compter*, and there remained eleven Days; no Friend being admitted to speak with her. In the mean Time, there was a Priest sent to her; who said, That he was commanded to examine her: and first he ask'd her, For what Cause she was put in the *Compter*? She told him, she could not tell. Then said he, It is great Pity. I am very sorry for you.

SECONDLY, he said, It is told me that you deny the Sacrament of the Altar. She answer'd again: What I have said, I have said.

THIRDLY, he ask'd: If she were content to be confess? She told him, Yes, if she might have one
of

these three, Dr. *Crome*, Sir *Guillam*, or *Huntington*, because she knew them to be Men of Wisdom. As for you, (says she) I will not dispraise you, because I know you not.

FOURTHLY, he ask'd, If the Host should fall, and a Beast should eat it, whether the Beast receiv'd GOD or no? She answer'd: Since you have taken the Pains to ask the Question, I desire you also to answer it your self. He said it was against the Order of Schools, that he which ask'd the Question should answer it. She replied, I am but a Woman, and know not the Course of Schools.

FIFTHLY, he ask'd, If she intended to receive the Sacrament at *Easter*? She answered, Yes, or else I were no Christian; and I rejoice that the Time is so near at Hand. Then the Priest departed with many fair Words.

THE 23d of *March*, one *Britain* her Cousin, went to my Lord Mayor, desiring him, that she might be bailed. My Lord bid him go and ask the Chancellor of *London*.

So he went to the Chancellor; who bad him come again on the Morrow. And upon the Morrow, he spake both with the Chancellor and with the Bishop of *London*. The Bishop appointed Mrs. *Askew* to appear before him the next Day, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon. Also he required Mr. *Britain*, that he should earnestly perswade her to utter the very Bottom of her Heart; and he sware by his Fidelity, that no Man should take any Advantage of her Words, neither would he lay ought to her Charge for any Thing that she should there speak.

ON the Morrow, the Bishop of *London* sent for her at One o'Clock, and said, he was very sorry for her Trouble, and desired to know her Opinions in such Matters as were laid against her. He required her also, to utter boldly the Secrets of her Heart, bidding her not to fear in any Point, for whatsoever she said in his House, no Man should hurt her for it. She answer'd: As your Lordship appointed Three o'Clock, and my Friends will not come till that Hour, I desire you to excuse me giving Answer till they come. Then he went into his Gallery with Mr. *Spilman*, and willed him to exhort her to utter all her Mind. In the mean While, he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with her, who said to her: Mistress, wherefore are you accused? She answered: Sir, pray ask my Accusers, for I know not. Then he took her Book out of her Hand, and said: Such Books as this have brought you to the Trouble you are in. Beware, beware, for he that made this Book, was an Heretick I warrant you. She ask'd him, If he were sure that was true which he had spoken? He said: He knew the Book was of *John Frith's* making. She ask'd him again, If he were not ashamed to judge of the Book before he saw it within, or knew the Truth of it. Then she opened the Book and shewed it him. He said: I thought it had been another. Then she desired him to be so swift in Judgment no more: with that he went away. Immediately after came in Mr. *Britain*, with divers others. Then my Lord of *London* said, He would have her credit the Counsel of such as were her Friends, and utter all Things that burthened her Conscience. She answered: I have nought to say, for my Conscience (I thank God) is burthened with nothing.

THEN said he: If a Man had a Wound, no wise Surgeon would administer Help to it before he

he had seen it uncovered. So, says he, I can give you no good Counſel, unleſs I know wherewith your Conſcience is burthened. She answered: My Conſcience is clear in all Things, and to lay a Plaiſter to the whole Skin, is mere Folly.

THEN you drive me (ſaith he) to charge you with your own Report. You ſaid: He that receives the Sacrament from the Hands of an ill Prieſt, receives the Devil, and not GOD. She answer'd: I never ſpake ſuch Words. But, as I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again, that the Wickedneſs of the Prieſt cannot hurt me; but in Spirit and Faith I receive no leſs than the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*. Then ſaid the Biſhop: What Saying is this, *In Spirit*? I will not take you at Advantage. She answer'd: My Lord, without Faith and the Spirit, I cannot receive Him worthily.

THEN he charged her with ſaying: That the Sacrament was but Bread. She answer'd: I never ſaid ſo; but indeed they ask'd me ſuch a Queſtion, whereunto I ſaid, I would not answer, 'till they had answer'd this Queſtion of mine, Why *Stephen* was ſtoned to Death? They ſaid they knew not. Then ſaid I again, No more would I tell them what it was.

THEN the Biſhop ſaid again: What if the Scriptures ſay, It is the Body of *Chriſt*? I believe, ſays ſhe, as the Scripture teaches me. Then he asked again: What if the Scripture ſays it is not the Body of *Chriſt*? Her Answer was ſtill, I believe as the Scripture informs me. He tarried a great while upon this Argument, in order to have driven her to make Answer to his Mind; but could not.

THEN

THEN he asked, Why she had so few Words? She answer'd: GOD hath given me the Gift of Knowledge, but not of Utterance.

FIFTHLY, The Bishop laid to her Charge, that she had said the Mass was Superstitious. She answer'd, I said not so. Howbeit I say they asked me, Whether private Mass did relieve Souls or no? Unto whom I answer'd: LORD, what Idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in Masses than in the Death of the dear Son of GOD! Then said my Lord, What Answer is that? Though it be but mean, (says she) it is good enough for the Question.

THEN certain Priests, tempted her much to know her Mind. But she answer'd; What I have said to my Lord of *London*, I have said.

Then said my Lord: There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not. She said again: My Lord, I could wish that all Men knew my Conversation and Living in all Points; for I am sure myself this Hour, that there are none able to prove any Dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and wrote a great deal, Part of which was as follows:

BE it known of all Men, that I Anne Askew, confess this to be my Faith, notwithstanding many Reports to the contrary. I believe that they which receive the Host at the Hands of a Priest, whether his Conversation be good or not, receive the Body and Blood of Christ in Substance really. Also I believe, that after the Consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very Body and Blood of Christ in Substance. Finally, I believe in this, and all other Sacraments of Holy Church in all Points,
according

according to the old Catholick Faith of the same. In Witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my Name.

THEN he read it to her, and ask'd if she agreed to it. She said: I believe so much thereof, as is agreeable to the Holy Scripture: Wherefore I desire that you will add that thereunto. Then he answer'd: You shall not teach me what I shall write. With that he went forth into his great Chamber, and read the same Bill before the Audience, who willed her to set her Hand to it, saying, That she was favour'd. Then said the Bishop: You may thank others, and not yourself for the Favour you have found at my Hands; for I considered that you have good Friends; and that you came of a worshipful Stock.

THEN the Bishop sat down, and gave her the Writing to set her Hand to, and she wrote after this Manner: *I Anne Askew, do believe all Manner of Things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church.*

THEN, because she added *The Catholick Church*, he went into his Chamber in a great Fury. With that, her Cousin *Britain* follow'd, desiring him for GOD's Sake to be a good Lord to her. He answer'd: She is a Woman, and I am nothing deceiv'd in her. Then Mr. *Britain* desired him to take her as a Woman, and not to set her weak Woman's Wit to his Lordship's great Wisdom.

THEN Dr. *Weston* went in unto him, and with much ado they perswaded my Lord to come out again, and to take her Name, with the Names of her Sureties, which were her Cousin *Britain* and Mr. *Spilman* of *Gray's-Inn*.

THIS being done, it was thought she would have been put to Bail immediately, according to the Order of Law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed her to Prison again 'till the Morrow; and then he order'd her to appear in the *Guild-Hall*, and so she did. Notwithstanding they would not admit her to Bail there; but commanded her again to Prison. Then her Sureties were appointed to come before them, on the Morrow in *St. Paul's Church*. There they would again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another Woman, whom they knew not. At last, after much ado, they took a Bond of them for her Forth-coming; and thus she was at last deliver'd.

THE Sum of her latter Examination before the King's Council, at *Greenwich*, was this:

BEING before the Council, Mr. *Kyme* asked: What was her Mind now? She answer'd: That my Lord Chancellor knew her Mind. They said: It was the King's Pleasure, she should open the Matter to them. She answer'd them plainly, She would not; but if it were the King's Pleasure to hear her, she would shew him the Truth. Then they said: It was not meet for the King to be troubled with her. She answer'd: *Solomon* was reckon'd the wisest King that ever liv'd, yet he misliked not to hear two poor common Women; much more his Grace, a simple Woman, his faithful Subject. Then my Lord Chancellor ask'd her, Her Opinion of the Sacrament? Her Answer was: I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian Congregation, receive the Bread in Remembrance of *Christ's* Death, and with Thanksgiving, according to his holy Institution, I receive therewith the Fruits also of his most glorious Passion. The Bishop of *Winchester* bade her make a direct Answer. She said, she

she would not sing a new Song of the LORD in a strange Land. Then the Bishop said: You spake in Parables. She said, it was best for him; for if I shew the open Truth (quoth she) you will not accept it. Then he said, she was a Parrot. She told him again: I am ready to suffer all Things at your Hands, not only your Rebukes, but all that shall follow, yea, and that gladly.

THEN she had many Rebukes of the Council, because she would not express her Mind in all Things as they would have her. But they were not unanswered. She was with them about five Hours. Then the Clerk of the Council conveyed her to my Lady *Garnish*.

THE next Day she was brought again before the Council. Then they would needs know of her, what she said to the Sacrament. She answer'd: I have already said what I could say. After many Words they bade her go by. Then came my *Ld. Lisle*, my Lord *Essex*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, requiring her earnestly to confess the Sacrament to be Flesh, Blood, and Bone. Then said she to my Lord *Parr* and my Lord *Lisle*: It is a great Shame for you to Counsel contrary to your Knowledge.

THEN said the Bishop: I will speak with you familiarly. So did *Judas*, (says she) when he betray'd *Christ*. Then he desired to speak with her alone. But she refused it. He asked her the Reason; and she said: In the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Matter shall stand.

THEN my Lord Chancellor began to examine her again concerning the Sacrament. And she asked: How long he would halt between two Opinions? Then he went his Way: And the Bishop

said: She should be burnt. She answer'd: I have searched all the Scriptures, yet I could never find that either *Christ* or his Apostles put any Creature to Death. Then she was commanded to stand aside. Then came *Dr. Cox*, and *Dr. Robinson*; but she and they could not agree.

ON the *Sunday* she was very sick, thinking no less than to die. Therefore she desired to speak with *Mr. Latimer*, but it could not be. Then she was sent to *Newgate* in the Extremity of her Sickness; in all her Life never having been in such Pain; as she herself testified, who wrote this Account, with her own Hand; which she concluded thus: The LORD strengthen us in the Truth. Pray, pray, pray.

The Confession of me ANNE ASKEW,
at the Time I was in *Newgate*, concerning my Belief.

I Find in the Scripture, that *Christ* took the Bread and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be broken for you: meaning in Substance, his own very Body, the Bread being a Sign or Sacrament thereof. After like manner of Speaking, He said He would break down the Temple, and in three Days build it up again; signifying his own Body by the Temple, as *St. John* declar-eth it, (*John ii.*) and not the stony Temple it self. So that the Bread is but a Remembrance of his Death, or a Sacrament of Thanksgiving for it.

Written by me *Anne Askew*, that neither with Death, nor fear his Might, and as merry as one that is bound towards Heaven.

The

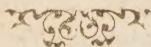
The Condemnation of ANNE ASKEW at the Guild-Hall, written with her own Hand.

THEY said to me there, That I was an Heretick, and condemned by the Law. I answered: That I was no Heretick, neither yet deserv'd I any Death by the Law of GOD. But as concerning the Faith which I wrote to the Council, I would not (I said) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the Sacrament to be Christ's Body and Blood. I said: Yes. For the same Son of GOD that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in Heaven. And as for that ye call your GOD, it is a Piece of Bread.

AFTER that, they willed me to have a Priest. And then I smiled. Then they ask'd me if it were not good? I said, I would confess my Faults unto GOD, for I was sure that He would hear me with Favour. And so I was condemn'd.

My Belief that I wrote to the Council was this: That the Sacramental Bread was left us to be received with Thanksgiving, in Remembrance of Christ's Death, the only Remedy of our Souls; and that thereby we also recieve the whole Benefits and Fruits of his most glorious Passion; concluding thus:

I neither wish Death, nor fear his Might,
GOD have the Praise thereof.



The Copy of her Letter to the Lord
Chancellor.

THE LORD GOD, by whom all Creatures have their Being, bless you with the Light of his Knowledge. Amen.

My Duty to your Lordship remembred; It might please you to accept this my bold Suit, as the Suit of one, which upon due Consideration is moved to the same. My Request to your Lordship is only, That the King's Majesty may be certified of these few Lines which I have written concerning my Belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard Judgment given me, I think his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven Pair of Ballances. But I remit my Cause to Almighty GOD, which rightly judgeth all Secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the Governance of Him, and Fellowship of all Saints. Amen.

By your Hand-maid,

ANNE ASKEW.

An Account of her Faith written to
the King.

I ANNE ASKEW, of good Memory, (although GOD hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of Trouble, yet not so much as my Sins deserve) desire this to be known unto your Grace, That forasmuch as I am condemned for an evil Doer; I take Heaven and Earth to Record, that I shall die in my Innocency. And according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all Heresies.

Heresies. And as concerning the Supper of the LORD, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which He confirmed with his most blessed Blood. I believe so much as He willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholick Church doth teach. For I will not forsake the Commandments of his Holy Lips. But look what GOD hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I shut up in my Heart.

And thus I end for lack of Learning.

ANNE ASKEW.

ON *Tuesday* she was sent from *Newgate* to the Sign of the Crown, where the Bishop of *London*, with all his Power, strove to perswade her from GOD.

THEN came *Nicholas Shaxton*, and counselled her to recant, as he had done. She said: It had been good for you never to have been born; with many other like Words.

Mr. RICH then sent her to the *Tower*, where she remained 'till Three o'Clock.

THEN came *Rich* and one of the Council, charging her to shew if she knew any Man or Woman of her Sect. Her Answer was: That she knew none. Then they ask'd her of my Lady *Suffolk*, my Lady *Suffex*, my Lady *Hertford*, my Lady *Denny*, and my Lady *Fitzwilliams*. To whom she answer'd: If I pronounce any Thing against them, I am not able to prove it. Then they said: The King was informed that she could name, if she would, a great Number of her Sect. She answered: The King is as much deceived in that Behalf, as he is dissembled with by you in other Matters.

THEY

THEY then commanded her to shew how she was maintained in the *Compter*, and who willed her to stick to her Opinion. She said: There was no Creature that strengthen'd her therein. And as for the Help that she had in the *Compter*, it was by the Means of her Maid: For as she went abroad in the Streets, she made Moan to the Prentices, and they sent her Money by her; but who they were she knew not.

THEN they said there were several Gentlewomen that gave her Money: She said she knew not their Names. Then they said there were of the Council that maintain'd her; but she denied it.

THEN they put her on the Rack, because she confessed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of her Opinion, and thereon they kept her a long Time; and because she lay still, and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Mr. *Rich* took Pains to rack her with their own Hands 'till she was nigh dead.

THE Lieutenant then caused her to be loosed from the Rack. She swoon'd immediately, but they recovered her again. After that she sate two Hours upon the bare Floor, reasoning with the Lord Chancellor; where he, with many flattering Words, perswaded her to leave her Opinion. But my LORD GOD (said she) I thank his everlasting Goodness, gave me Grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the End.

SHE was then brought to a House, and laid in a Bed, with weary and painful Bones. Afterwards my Lord Chancellor sent her Word, if she would leave her Opinion, she should want Nothing; if she would not, she should forthwith go to *Newgate*, and so be burned. She sent him Word again, that she would rather die than break her Faith. This she

she wrote to a Friend, and concluded thus: *The LORD open the Eyes of their blind Hearts, that the Truth may take Place. Farewel, dear Friend, and pray, pray, pray.*

TOUCHING her Racking in the *Tower*, it was thus: First she was led down into a deep Dungeon, where Sir *Anthony Knevet*, the Lieutenant, commanded his Goaler to pinch her with the Rack. Which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down; but *Wrisley* the Chancellor, not content that she was loosed so soon, and had confessed Nothing, commanded the Lieutenant to strain her on the Rack again; but he refused to do it: Wherefore he was threatened grievously by the said *Wrisley*, saying, That he would signify his Disobedience to the King: And so he and Mr. *Rich*, throwing off their Gowns, would needs do it themselves; first asking her if she was with Child. To whom she said: Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your Wills upon me; and so quietly and patiently praying unto the LORD, she abode their Tyranny, 'till her Bones and Joints were almost pluckt asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a Chair. When the Racking was over, *Wrisley* and *Rich* took Horse toward the Court.

IN the mean Time, while they were making their Way by Land, the Lieutenant taking Boat, went to Court in all Haste to speak to the King before the others; and did so: Who there making his humble Suit to the King, desired his Pardon, and shewed him the whole Matter as it stood; as of the Racking of Mrs. *Askew*, and that he was threatened by the Lord Chancellor, because, at his Commandment, not knowing his Highness's Pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for Compassion could not find in his Heart to do, and therefore

fore humbly desired his Highness's Pardon. When the King understood the Affair, he seemed not well to like of their so handling of the Woman, and also granted the Lieutenant his Pardon, willing him to return and see to his Charge.

THERE was great Expectation among the Warders and Officers of the *Tower*, who waited for his Return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, and he had declared how he had sped with the King, they were not a little joyful, and gave Thanks to GOD.

ANNE ASKEW'S Answer to JOHN LACEL'S Letter.

O Friend, most dearly beloved in GOD, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a Faith, as to fear Death, which is the End of all Misery. I desire you not to believe of me such Weakness. For I doubt not, but GOD will perform his Work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the Council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad, that I was racked in the *Tower*: Whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely Doings, and fear lest the King's Majesty should have Information thereof. Well, GOD forgive them.

Yours in CHRIST JESUS.

Farewel and pray.

ANNE ASKEW.

The last Confession of Faith which
Anne Askew made in *Newgate*.

I ANNE ASKEW, of good Memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of Trouble, yet not so much as my Sins have deserved, do confess my self here a Sinner before the Throne of his Heavenly Majesty, desiring his Forgiveness and Mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the Law unrighteously condemned for an evil Doer, I take the same most merciful GOD of mine, which hath made both Heaven and Earth, to Record, that I hold no Opinions contrary to his most Holy Word, and I trust in my merciful LORD, who is the Giver of all Grace, that he will assist me against all evil Opinions. For I take him to Witness, that I have done, and will, unto my Life's End, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my Power.

As touching the holy and blessed Supper of the LORD, I believe it to be a most necessary Remembrance of his glorious Sufferings and Death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

FINALLY, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which He hath confirmed with his most precious Blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our Learning and Salvation; so that I believe, we need no unwritten Verities to rule his Church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own Mouth in his Holy Gospel, that I have with GOD's Grace closed up in my Heart, and my full Trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a Lanthorn to my Footsteps.

BUT

BUT as concerning your Mass, as it is now used, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable Idol that is in the World. For my GOD will not be eaten with Teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these Words that I have now spoken, will I suffer Death.

The PRAYER of ANNE ASKEW.

O LORD, I have more Enemies now, than there be Hairs on my Head: Yet, LORD, let them not overcome me with vain Words; but fight Thou LORD in my Stead, for on Thee I cast my Care. With all the Spight they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am Thy poor Creature. Yet, sweet LORD, let me not fear them which are against me; for in Thee is my whole Delight: And I heartily desire of Thee, that Thou wilt of thy most merciful Goodness forgive them that Violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open Thou their blind Hearts, that they may hereafter do that Thing in thy Sight, which is only acceptable before Thee, and set forth thy Truth aright, without all vain Fancies of sinful Men. So be it, O LORD, so be it.

By me

ANNE ASKEW.

AFTER she had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great Distress, nor yet by her Adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the Day of her Execution being appointed, she was brought to *Smithfield* in a Chair, because she could not go on her Feet, by Means of her great Torments. When she was brought to the Stake, she was tied by the Middle with a Chain that held up her Body. When all Things were thus prepared

to

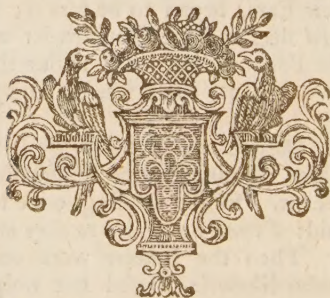
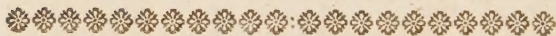
to the Fire, Dr. *Shaxton*, who was appointed to preach, began his Sermon. *Anne Askew* hearing, and answering again, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, there, said she, he misseth, and speaketh without Book.

THE Sermon being finished, she and the other Martyrs, standing tied at three several Stakes, began their Prayers. The Concourse of People was exceeding great, the Place where they stood being railed about to keep off the Press. Upon the Bench under St. *Bartholomew's* Church sat the Chancellor of *England*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, the old Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord Mayor, with divers others besides. Before the Fire was set to them, one of the Bench hearing that they had Gunpowder about them, and being apprehensive that the Faggots, by Strength of the Gunpowder, would come flying about their Ears, began to be afraid; but the Earl of *Bedford* declared the Gunpowder was not laid under the Faggots, but only about their Bodies; and as it had Vent, there was no Danger to them.

THEN Lord Chancellor *Wrisley* sent Letters to *Anne Askew*, offering her the King's Pardon, if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, said: *I came not hither to deny my LORD and Master.* Then the Letters were offered to the others, who likewise refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the Lord Mayor, commanding Fire to be put to them, cry'd with a loud Voice, *Let Justice be done.*

THUS *Anne Askew*, having passed thro' so many Torments, after a long Course of Agonies, being compassed about with Flames of Fire, as a blessed Sacrifice unto GOD, slept in the LORD.

THOSE who suffered with her, were *Nicholas Belenian*, Priest, of *Shropshire*; *John Adams*, a Taylor; and *John Lacels*, Gentleman, of the Court and Household of King *Henry*: Who beholding her invincible Constancy, and also stirred up through her Persuasions, set apart all Fear; and confirming one another with mutual Exhortations, tarried for the Fire, which at the last flaming round them, consumed their Bodies in happy Martyrdom, about the Month of *June*, 1546.





THE PERSECUTION

IN

SCOTLAND,

Against certain Persons in *PERTH,*

In the YEAR MDXLIH.

THERE was an Act of Parliament made in the Government of the Lord *Hamilton*, Governor of *Scotland*, giving Privilege to all Men of the Realm of *Scotland*, to read the Scriptures in their Mother-Tongue, secluding nevertheless all Convocation of People to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which Liberty of private reading lacked not its Fruit; so that in sundry Parts of *Scotland* Men's Eyes were opened to see the Truth.

AT this Time there was a Sermon preached by Friar *Spense*, in *Perth*, affirming Prayer made to Saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no Hope of Salvation. Which a Burgeſs of the Town, called *Robert Lamb*, could not abide, but accused him in open Audience of Erroneous Doctrine, and adjured him in God's Name

to utter the Truth. This the Frier promised to do: but the Tumult of the People increased so, that he could have no Audience; and yet the said *Robert* with great Danger of his Life, escaped the Hands of the Multitude.

AT this Time, in the Year of our LORD 1543, the Enemies to the Truth procured *John Chartuous*, who favoured the Truth, and was Provost of *Perth*, to be deposed from his Office by the said Governor's Authority, and a Papist called *Alexander Marbeck* to be chosen in his Room, that they might the more easily bring their wicked and ungodly Enterprize to an End.

THE Governor of *Perth*, the Cardinal of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Argyle*, Sir *John Campbel* of *Lunde*, the Bishops of *Dunblane* and *Orkney*, with certain other of the Nobility, came to *Perth* on *St. Paul's Day*. The same Day were apprehended *Robert Lamb*, *Will. Anderson*, *James Hunter*, *James Raveleson*, *James Founleson*, and *Hellen Stirk* his Wife, and were cast that Night into the *Spay-Tower* of the said City.

ON the Morrow, when they were brought forth, the violating of the fore-mention'd Act of Parliament was laid to their Charge; and also their Conference and Assemblies in hearing and expounding the Scripture, against the said Act.

Robert Lamb, *Will. Anderson*, and *James Raveleson*, were accused also for hanging up the Image of *St. Francis* in a Cord; and for eating a Goose on *Albollow-Even*.

James Hunter, a Fletcher, a simple Man, and without Learning, so that he could be charged with no great Knowledge in Doctrine, yet because
he

he often used the Company of the rest, he was accused.

Hellen Stirk was accused also, for that in her Child-bed she was not accustomed to call upon the *Virgin Mary*, but only upon God for *Jesus Christ* his Sake.

James Raveleson afore said, building a House, set upon the Round of his Fourth Stair the Three-crown'd Diadem of *Peter* carved in Wood; which the Cardinal took as done in Mockage of his Cardinal's Hat: and this procured him no Favour at their Hands.

THESE Persons the Morrow after *St. Paul's* Day were condemned to Death, for violating the Act of Parliament, in conferring upon Scriptures, and for eating Flesh upon Days forbidden.

AFTER Sentence given, their Hands were bound, and the Men cruelly treated. Which Thing the Woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound for *Christ's* Sake.

THERE was great Intercession made for their Lives to the Governor, who of himself was willing that they should be delivered. But the Governor was so subject to the Priests, that he could not do what he would.

So they were carried by a great Band of armed Men (for they feared Rebellion in the Town) to the Place of Execution, which, was common to all Thieves, and that to make their Cause appear more odious to the People.

Robert Lamb, at the Gallows-foot, made his Exhortation to the People, desiring them to fear
S 3 God,

GOD, and leave the Leaven of Papistical Abominations; and every one comforting one another, they commended themselves to GOD, and died constantly in the LORD.

THE Woman desired earnestly to die with her Husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the Place of Execution, she exhorted him to Perseverance and Patience for *Christ's* Sake, and parting from him with a Kiss, said: *Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful Days; but this Day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have Joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good Night; for we shall suddenly meet with Joy in the Kingdom of Heaven.* The Woman after that was taken to a Place to be drowned, and altho' she had a Child sucking on her Breast, this moved them not. So after she had commended her Children to the Neighbours of the Town, she sealed the Truth by her Death.





THE

MARTYRDOM

OF

WALTER MILLE.

IN the Year 1558, WALTER MILLE (who in his Youth had been a Papist) after he had been in *Germany*, and had heard the Doctrine of the Gospel, returned into *Scotland*, his Native Land, and laying aside all Papistry and compelled Chastity, married a Wife; which made the Bishops of *Scotland* suspect him of Heresy. After being long watched, he was taken by two Popish Priests, one called Sir *George Traquhern*, and the other Sir *Hugh Turry*, Servants to *John Hamilton*, Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and brought to *St. Andrew's*, and imprisoned in the Castle there. Being in Prison, the Papists earnestly laboured to seduce him. First, they threatened him with Death and corporal Torments, to the Intent that they might cause him to recant and forsake the Truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they used fair Promises, and offered him a Monk's Portion all the Days of his

his Life, in the Abbey of *Dunfermling*, if he would but deny the Things he had taught, and grant that they were Heresy. But he despised both their Threatnings and Promises.

THEN the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, with many other Bishops, Abbots, Doctors, and others of the Clergy, assembled, and having consulted together, *Mille* was taken out of Prison, and brought to the Metropolitan Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Bishops to be accused, the 20th Day of *April*. Being brought into the Church, he was so weak and feeble, partly by Age and Travel, and partly by evil Treatment, that he could not, without Help, climb up into the Pulpit, so that they were out of Hope of hearing what he should say. But when he began, he made the Church to ring and sound again, he spake with so great Courage and Stoutness; insomuch that the Christians which were present, were no less rejoiced, than the Adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the Pulpit and on his Knees at Prayers, *Sir Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Bishop's Priests, commanded him to arise, saying: *Sir Walter Mille*, arise and answer to your Articles, for you hold my Lord here over long. *Walter*, after he had finished his Prayer, answered: We ought to obey GOD rather than Men: I serve one more mighty, even the omnipotent LORD. Call me *Walter*, and not *Sir Water*; I have been overlong one of the Pope's Knights. Now say what thou hast to say.

THEN said *Oliphant*: What think you of Priests Marriage?

MILLE reply'd: I hold it a blessed Band. Ye vow Chastity, and break the same. *St. Paul* had rather marry than burn: The which I have done:
For

For GOD never forbad Marriage to any Man, of what State or Degree soever he were.

OLIPHANT said again: Thou sayest there be not Seven Sacraments.

GIVE me (said *Mille*) the LORD's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. But if there be Seven, why have you omitted one of them, viz. *Marriage*?

AFTER taxing him in several other Points, to which *Mille* answered openly and without Reserve; *Oliphant* said: Thou preachedst privately in Houses, and openly in the Fields.

YES, Man, said *Mille*, and on the Sea also, sailing in a Ship.

WILT thou recant thy erroneous Opinions, said *Oliphant*? If thou wilt not, I will pronounce Sentence against thee.

MILLE reply'd: I am accused of my Life; I know I must die once; and therefore, as *Christ* said to *Judas*, *What thou doest, do quickly*. You shall know that I will not recant the Trnth; for I am Corn, and no Chaff; I will not be blown away with the Wind, nor burst with the Flail; but I will abide both.

THEN Sir *Andrew Oliphant* pronounced Sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the Temporal Judge, and be burned. But the whole Town was so offended with his unjust Condemnation, that the Bishop's Servants could not get for their Money so much as one Cord to tie him to the Stake, or a Tar-barrel to burn him, but
were

were constrained to cut the Cords of their Master's own Pavillion to serve their Turn.

WHEN all Things were ready for his Death, and he conveyed with armed Men to the Fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the Stake: And he said; *Nay, but put me up with THY Hand and take Part in my Death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the Law of GOD I am forbidden to put Hands upon my self.* Then Oliphant put him up with his Hand, and he ascended gladly, saying; *I will go to the Altar of GOD.* He then desired that he might have Time to speak to the People; which Oliphant and others of the Burners denied, saying: That he had spoken overmuch, for the Bishops were altogether offended that the Matter was so long continued. Then some of the young Men there present, opposing the Burners, bid him speak what he pleased.

THEN Mille, after he had made his humble Supplication to GOD on his Knees, arose, and standing upon the Coals, said: *Dear Friends, the Cause why I suffer this Day, is not for any Crime laid to my Charge (altho' I am a miserable Sinner before GOD) but only for the Defence of the Faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament; for which, as the faithful Martyrs have offered themselves before, being assured after the Death of their Bodies of eternal Felicity, so this Day I praise GOD, that He hath called me of his Mercy, among the rest of his Servants, to seal up his Truth with my Life; which as I have received it of Him, so willingly I offer it to his Glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal Death, be no more seduced with the Lies of Priests, Monks, Friars, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the Sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his Mercy, that ye may be delivered from Condemnation.*

ALL

ALL that while there was great Mourning and Lamentation of the Multitude; for they perceiving his Patience, Constancy, and Hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their Hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last Martyr that died in *Scotland* for Religion.

AFTER his Prayer, he was hoisted up upon the Stake, and being in the Fire, he said: LORD *have Mercy on me: Pray, People, while there is Time.* And so he constantly departed.





T H E

MARTYRDOM

O F

Mr. R O G E R S.

MR. JOHN ROGERS, brought up in the University of *Cambridge*, at length was chosen and called by the *Merchant's Adventurers* to be their Chaplain at *Antwerp*, whom he served to their good Content many Years. He chanced there to fall in Company with that worthy Servant of GOD, *William Tindal*, and with *Miles Coverdale*. In conferring with them, he came to great Knowledge in the Gospel, insomuch that he cast off the heavy Yoke of Popery, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable Labour of translating the Bible into the *English* Tongue. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful Vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is honourable among all Men, joined himself in Matrimony, and so went to *Wittemberg* in *Saxony*, where he with much Soberness of Living, did not only increase in all good and godly Learning, but also so much profited in the Knowledge

ledge of the *German* Tongue, that the Charge of a Congregation was committed to his Cure.

IN which Ministry he diligently and faithfully served many Years, untill it pleased God, by the faithful Labour of King *Edward* to banish Popery. He then having both a good Conscience and a ready good Will to help forward the Work of the LORD in his native Country, left *Saxony*, and came into *England* to preach the Gospel. In which after he had a Space diligently and faithfully laboured, *Nicholas Ridley*, then Bishop of *London*, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*; and the Dean and Chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinity Lesson there, wherein he diligently laboured untill such Time as Queen *Mary* obtaining the Crown, banished the Gospel and true Religion.

AFTER the Queen was come to the *Tower of London*, he being orderly called thereunto, made a vehement Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, confirming such true Doctrine as he and other had there taught in King *Edward's* Days, exhorting the People constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all Idolatry, and Superstition. The Council called him to Account for his Sermon: To whom he made a stout, and godly Answer; and yet, at that Time he was clearly dismissed. But after Proclamation was set forth by the Queen to prohibit true Preaching, he was called again before the Council; for they thirsted after his Blood. The Council commanded him as Prisoner to keep his own House, and so he did: although by flying, he might easily have escaped their Hands, and many Things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the Recovery of Religion in *England*, for that present, desperate: He knew he could not want a Living in *Germany*, and he could not forget his Wife and ten Children. But

all these Things set apart, after he was called to answer in *Christ's* Cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in Defence of the same, and for that Truth, was content to hazard his Life.

HE remained in his own House as Prisoner a long Time, till at length, through the Procurement of *Bonner*, he was removed to *Newgate*, where he was lodged among Thieves and Murderers for a great Space.

HE was examined by the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Council, the 22d of *January*; and again on the 28th and 29th, in the Year, 1555. Of all which he wrote a particular Account, concluding with these Words: *The LORD grant us Grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his Cause, till we are smitten down together, if the LORD's Will be so to permit. For there shall not a Hair of our Heads perish against his Will, but with his Will. Whereunto the LORD grant us to be obedient unto the End. Amen: Sweet, mighty, and merciful LORD Jesus, the Son of David and of GOD: Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.*

AFTER this his Condemnation was read, mentioning but two Articles: That he affirmed the *Romish* Church to be the Church of *Antichrist*; and that he denied the Reality of their Sacrament.

AFTERWARD, Mr. *Rogers* spoke to Bishop *Gardiner* as follows:

WELL my LORD, here I stand before GOD and you, and all this Honourable Audience, and take him to Witness, that I never willingly taught any false Doctrine; and therefore have I a good Conscience before GOD and all good Men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is
righteous,

righteous, before whom I shall be as good a Man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true Member of the true Catholick Church of *Christ*, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me out of it. I have not been in it these 20 Years, the LORD be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one Thing.

WHAT is that, said he?

THAT my poor Widow, being a Stranger, may speak with me so long as I live (says *Rogers*). For she hath ten Children that are hers and mine, and I would Counsel her, what were best for her to do.

No, (said he) she is not thy Wife.

YES, my Lord, (said *Rogers*) and hath been these 18 Years.

SHOULD I grant her to be thy Wife, said the Bishop?

CHOOSE you, (says Mr. *Rogers*) whether you will or not; she shall be so nevertheless.

SHE shall not come at thee, said he.

THEN I have tried out all your Charity, said the other. You are highly displeased with the Matrimony of Priests, but you maintain open Whoredom: as in *Wales*, where every Priest hath his Whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your Holy Father suffereth all the Priests in *Germany* and in *France* to do. Thereto *Gardiner* answered not, but looked as it were a-

squint. After this Mr. Rogers departed, and saw him no more.

MR. Rogers had continued a Year and half in Prison with much Cheerfulness; during which Time he wrote much, and penned his Examinations with his own Hand, which had never come to Light, but by a memorable Providence. The Book of his Examinations and Answers, he had privily hid in a secret Corner of the Prison. After his Death, his Wife and one of her Sons coming into the Place where he lay; her Son chanced to spie something black, lying under a Pair of Stairs; who, willing his Mother to see what it was, found it to be the Book written with his own Hand, containing his Examinations; in the latter End whereof was contained, a Prophetical Fore-warning of Things pertaining to the Church.

AMONG other Sayings, which may seem Prophetically to be spoken of him, this is to be marked, that he spake in Prison to a Printer, who was then confined for the Cause of Religion: "Thou (said he) shalt live to see the Alteration of this Religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again: And therefore have me commended to my Brethren, as well in Exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good Ministers into Churches, or else their End will be worse than ours. And for lack of good Ministers to furnish Churches, his Advice was, (Mr. Hooper also agreeing to the same) that for every ten Churches, some one good and learned Superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him Faithful Readers, such as might well be got, so that Popish Priests should be clean put out, and the Bishop once a Year to oversee the profiting of the Parishes; and if the Minister did
not

not his Duty, as well in profiting himself in his Book, and his Parishioners in good Instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a Reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his Place: And the Bishop to do the like with the Superintendent.

DURING the Time he remained in *Newgate*, he was beneficial and liberal to the Prisoners; for whom he devised, that he with his Fellows should have but one Meal a Day; they paying notwithstanding for the other Meals to be given to them that lacked on the other Side of the Prison. But *Alexander*, their Keeper, would in no Case suffer that. The *Sunday* before he suffered, he cheerfully bade some that were present, commend him to Mr. *Hooper*, being then underneath him, and tell him, *There was never little Fellow would stick better to a Man, than he would stick to him; supposing they should both be burnt together; but Mr. Rogers was burnt alone.*

THE 4th of *February*, being *Monday*, in the Morning he was suddenly warned by the Keeper's Wife of *Newgate*, to prepare himself to the Fire: who being then sound a-sleep, could scarce be awaked with much Shaking. At length being raised, she bid him make Haste; then, said he, if it be so, I need not tie my Points: and so he was had down, first to *Bonner* to be degraded, and put into the Hands of the Laity. That done, he craved of *Bonner* but one Petition. And *Bonner* asking what that should be: Nothing, (said he) but that I may talk a few Words with my Wife before my Burning. But that could not be obtained. Then said he, you declare what your Charity is. When the Time of his Execution came, he was brought into *Smithfield* by Mr. *Chester*, and Mr. *Woodrooffe*, Sheriffs of *London*. Mr. *Woodrooffe* ask'd him, If he

would recant his abominable Doctrine, and his evil Opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Mr. *Rogers* answer'd: That which I have preached, I will seal with my Blood. Then (said Mr. *Woodrooffe*) thou art an Heretick. That shall be known (said *Rogers*) at the Day of Judgment. Well, (said Mr. *Woodrooffe*) I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, said Mr. *Rogers*; and so he was brought to the Stake (all the People wonderfully rejoicing at his Constancy, with great Praises and Thanks to God) and there in the Presence of Mr. *Rochester*, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, Sir *Richard Southwell*, both the Sheriffs, and a wonderful Number of People, he was burned to Ashes, washing his Hands in the Flame as he was burning.

AT the Stake he shewed most constant Patience, not using many Words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the People constantly to remain in that Faith and true Doctrine which he had taught, and for the Confirmation whereof, he was not only content patiently to suffer all such Cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his Life, and to give his Flesh to the consuming Fire.

HIS Pardon was brought, if he would Recant, but he utterly refused it. He was the first Martyr of all the blessed Company that suffered in Queen *Mary's* Time. His Wife and Children, being eleven in Number, ten able to go, and one sucking on her Breast, met him by the Way as he went to Execution: This sorrowful Sight could nothing move him, but he cheerfully took his Death in the Defence of *Christ's* Gospel.



THE
MARTYRDOM

OF

LAURENCE SANDERS.

AFTER Queen *Mary*, by publick Proclamation, had inhibited the preaching of God's Word; divers godly Ministers, who had the Charge of Souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their bounden Duty, feed their Flock faithfully; not as Preachers authorized by publick Authority, but as the private Pastors of particular Flocks, among whom *Laurence Sanders* was one, a Man of worshipful Parentage. His bringing up was in Learning from his Youth, in the School of *Eaton*, and at the *King's College* in *Cambridge*, where he continued Scholar of the College three Years, and there profited in Knowledge and Learning very much: Shortly after that, he went to his Parents, upon whose Advice he minded to become a Merchant, and he, coming up to *London*, was bound Apprentice to Sir *William Chester*. Yet the LORD so wrought inwardly in his Heart

Heart, that he could find no Liking in that Vocation: But when his Fellows were busily occupied about Trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy Corner, and there fall into his solitary Lamentations, as one not liking that kind of Life.

IT happened that his Master, being a good Man, and hearing his Prentice thus in his secret Prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what was the Cause of his Lamentation. Perceiving his Mind nothing to fancy that Kind of Life, and his whole Purpose to be bent to Study and Contemplation, he directed his Letters to his Friends, and giving him his Indenture, set him free. And thus *Laurence Sanders* being ravished with the Love of Learning, and especially with the Reading of GOD's Word, tarried not long Time in Merchandize, but shortly return'd to *Cambridge* to his Study; where he began to join to the *Latin*, the Study of the *Greek* Tongue; wherein he profited in small Time very much: Thereto also he added the Study of the *Hebrew*. Then he gave himself wholly to the Study of the Holy Scripture, to furnish himself for the Office of a Preacher.

IN Study he was diligent and painful; in godly Life he declared the Fruits of a well exercised Conscience: He prayed often and with great Fervor; In his Prayers, as also at other Times, he had his Part of Spiritual Exercises, which his hearty Sighing to GOD declared; in which when any special Assault did come, by Prayer he felt present Relief. His Company was marvellous comfortable: For as his Exercises were special Teachings, so they proved singular Consolations; wherein he became so expert, that within short Space he was able to comfort others which were in any Affliction, by
the

the Consolation wherewith the LORD did comfort him. Thus continued he in the University, till he became Master of Arts, and a long Space after.

IN the Beginning of King EDWARD's Reign he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which had Authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the College at *Fotheringay*, where by Doctrine and Life he edified the Godly, drew many to GOD's true Knowledge, and stopped the Mouth of the Adversaries. He married about that Time, and in the married Estate led a Life unblameable before all Men. The College of *Fotheringay* being dissolved, he was placed to be Lecturer in the Minster at *Litchfield*; where he so behaved himself in Teaching and Living, that the very Adversaries did give him a good Report as well of Learning as of much Godliness. After a certain Space, he departed from *Litchfield*, to a Benefice in *Leicester*, called *Church-Langton*, where he taught diligently. From thence he was called to a Benefice in *London*, named *Alballow's, Bread-street*. And even at that Time began the Broil about the Claim that Queen *Mary* had to the Crown.

IN this Trouble he preached at *Northampton*, nothing meddling with the State, but boldly uttered his Conscience against *Popish* Errors, which were like to spring up again in *England*, as a just Plague for the little Love which the *English* Nation did bear to the blessed Word of GOD, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The Queen's Men which were there, were highly displeased, and kept him among them as Prisoner. But partly for Love of his Brethren and Friends, which were chief Doers for the Queen among them; partly, because there was no Law broken by his Preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful Days at hand, inflamed with godly

ly Zeal, preached with Diligence at both those Benefices, as Time could serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the Hand of a Papist.

THUS passed he to and fro, preaching, untill the Proclamation before-mentioned was put forth. At which Time he was at his Benefice in the Country, where he (notwithstanding the Proclamation) taught diligently GOD's Truth, confirming the People therein, and arming them against false Doctrine, untill he was not only commanded to cease, but also with Force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in Preaching. Some of his Friends advised him to flee out of the Realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was kept from doing Good in that Place, he returned towards *London* to visit the Flock there.

ON *Saturday, October 14*, as he was coming nigh *London*, Sir *John Mordant*, a Counsellor to *Queen Mary*, did overtake him, and asked him, whither he went. I have (said *Sanders*) a Cure in *London*, and now I go to instruct my People according to my Duty. If you will follow my Counsel, quoth *Mordant*, let them alone, and go not to them. To this *Sanders* answered: How shall I then be discharged before GOD, if any be sick, and desire Consolation; if any want good Counsel, and need Instruction; or if any should slip into Error, and receive false Doctrine? Did you not (quoth *Mordant*, preach such a Day (and named the Day) in *Bread-street* in *London*? Yes, verily, says *Sanders*; that is my Cure. I heard you myself, says Mr. *Mordant*: and will you preach there again? If it please you, said *Sanders*, Tomorrow you may hear me again at the same Place, where I will confirm by the Authority of GOD's Word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that Time I taught them. I WOULD

I WOULD counsel you (quoth the other) not to preach. If You can forbid me by lawful Authority, then I must obey, said *Sanders*. Nay (quoth he) I will not forbid you, but I give you Counsel. And thus entered they both the City, and departed from each other. Mr. *Mordant* went to give Warning to *Bonner*, that *Sanders* would preach at his Cure the next Day. *Sanders* resorted to his Lodging, where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one which was there, asked him how he did. In very Deed, says he, I am in Prison, till I be in Prison: Meaning, that his Mind was unquiet untill he had preached, and then he should have Quietness of Mind, though he were put in Prison.

THE next Day, which was *Sunday* in the Forenoon, he preach'd in his Parish-Church, treating on that Place of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*: *I have coupled you to one Man, that ye should be a chaste Virgin unto CHRIST. But I fear, lest as the Serpent beguiled Eve; even so You should be corrupt from the Simplicity which ye had in CHRIST.* He recited a Sum of that true Christian Doctrine, through which they were coupled to *Christ*, to receive of Him Free Justification thro' FAITH in his Blood. The Papistical Doctrine he compared to the Serpent's deceiving; and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a Comparison between the Voice of GOD, and the Voice of the Serpent.

IN the Afternoon, he was ready in his Church to have given another Exhortation to his People. But the Bishop of *London* interrupted him, by sending an Officer. This Officer charged him, forthwith to come to the Bishop his Master. Thus, as the Apostles were brought out of the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Priests; so was *Laurence Sanders* brought unto the
Bishop

Bishop, who had in his Company the afore-named Sir *John Mordant*, and some of his Chaplains. The Bishop laid to his Charge, Treason, for breaking the Queen's Proclamation; Heresy and Sedition for his Sermon.

AFTER much Talk, the Bishop willed him to write what he believed of Transubstantiation. *L. Sanders* did so: saying, *My Lord, ye seek my Blood, and ye shall have it: I pray GOD that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may afterward loath Blood-sucking, and become another Man.* The Bishop then sent him to the Lord Chancellor. But the Chancellor being not at home, *Sanders* was constrained to tarry for him four Hours, in the outer Chamber, where he found a Chaplain of the Bishop's, with certain Gentlemen playing at Tables, with divers others of the same Family occupied in the same Exercise.

ALL this Time, *Sanders* stood modestly at the Skreen, bare-headed, Sir *John Mordant*, his Guide, walking up and down by him. At last, the Bishop returned from Court; whom, as soon as he enter'd, a great many Suitors met and received: So that before he could get out of one House into another, half an Hour was passed. At last, he came into the Chamber where *Sanders* was, and went through into another Chamber: where Sir *John* gave him a Writing, containing the Accusation of the said *Sanders*: Which when he had perused; where is the Man, said the Bishop? Then *Sanders*, being brought forth, first lowly and meekly kneeled down before the Table where the Bishop sat: unto whom the Bishop spake on this wise:

How happeneth it, that, notwithstanding the Queen's Proclamation, you have enterprised to preach?

San-

Sanders said, That forasmuch as he saw perillous Times at Hand, he did but (according as he was admonished, by *Ezekiel* the Prophet) exhort his Flock to persevere and stand stedfastly in the Doctrine which they had learned; saying also, That he was moved thereto by the Place of the Apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than Man; and that nothing more stirred him thereunto, than his own Conscience.

A GOODLY Conscience, said the Bishop. This your Conscience could make our Queen a Bastard. Would it not, I pray you?

THEN said *Sanders*: For That let them take Care, whose Writings are yet in the Hands of Men, witnessing the same, not without the Shame of the Author. [☞ The Bishop himself had before written and set forth in Print a Book, wherein he had openly declared Queen *Mary* to be a Bastard.] The Bishop being touched, said: Carry away this frenzy Fool to Prison. Unto whom Mr. *Sanders* answer'd: He did give God Thanks, who had given him at last a Place of Rest and Quietness, where he might pray for the Bishop's Conversion.

HE that did lie with him afterwards in Prison, reported that he heard him say; That in the Time of his Examination he was wonderfully comforted, insomuch, as not only in Spirit, but also in Body, he received a certain Taste of the Holy Communion of Saints.

MR. *Sanders* continued in the *Marshalsea* Prison a whole Year and three Months.

FROM whence he wrote to his Wife as follows :

“ GRACE, Mercy, and Peace in *Christ* our
 “ LORD. Entirely beloved Wife, even as
 “ unto mine own Soul and Body, so do I daily in
 “ my Prayers wish unto you; for I daily, twice at
 “ the least, in this Sort remember you. And I
 “ doubt not but that both I and you, as we be
 “ written in the Book of Life, so we shall together
 “ enjoy the same everlastingly, through the Grace
 “ and Mercy of GOD, our dear Father, in his Son
 “ our CHRIST. And for this present Life, let us
 “ wholly appoint ourselves to the Will of our good
 “ GOD, to glorify him either by Life or by Death;
 “ and that same merciful LORD make us worthy
 “ to honour Him either Way, as pleaseth Him.
 “ Amen.

“ I am merry, I thank my GOD and my *Christ*,
 “ in whom, and through whom, I shall (I know)
 “ be able to fight a good Fight, and finish my
 “ Course, and then receive the Crown which is laid
 “ up in Store for me, and all the true Soldiers of
 “ *Christ*. Wherefore, Wife, let us, in the Name
 “ of our GOD, fight lustily against the Flesh, the
 “ Devil, and the World. What our Harneſs and
 “ Weapons be in this Fight, look in the sixth
 “ Chapter unto the *Ephesians*; and pray, pray,
 “ pray.

“ I WOULD that you make no Suit for me in
 “ any wise. GOD send us all good Speed, and a
 “ joyful Meeting. I have too few Friends to fur-
 “ ther me in this Journey, which is indeed the
 “ greatest Friendship. The Blessing of GOD be
 “ with you all. Amen.

“ *A Prisoner in the LORD,*

“ L. SANDERS.”

Afterward he wrote to her thus :

“ **G**RACE and Comfort in *Christ Jesus*, our
 “ only Comfort in all extreme Assaults.
 “ Amen.

“ FAIN would this Flesh make strange of that
 “ which the Spirit doth embrace: Ah! LORD,
 “ how loth is this loitering Sluggard to pass forth
 “ in GOD’S Path: And were it not for the Force
 “ of Faith, which pulleth it forward by the Rein
 “ of GOD’S most sweet Promise, and of Hope,
 “ which pricketh on behind, great Dangers there
 “ were of fainting by the Way. But blessed, ever-
 “ lastingly blessed, be that Heavenly Father of
 “ ours, who in his *Christ*, our sufficient Saviour,
 “ hath vouchsafed to shine in our Hearts, that He
 “ giveth us the Light of the Knowledge of the
 “ Glory of GOD in the Face of *Jesus Christ*.
 “ Wherefore by the Grace of our *Christ* we shall
 “ not be wearied, neither be dismay’d by this our
 “ Probation through the Fire of Affliction, as tho’
 “ some strange Thing had happened unto us. But
 “ by his Power we shall rejoyce, inasmuch as we
 “ are Partakers of *Christ*’s Passion, that when He
 “ doth appear, we may be merry and glad; know-
 “ ing that our *Tribulation, which is momentary and*
 “ *light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal Weight*
 “ *of Glory unto us, while we look not on the Things*
 “ *which are seen, but on the Things which are not seen.*
 “ *They that sow in Tears, shall reap in Joy. For*
 “ *he that goeth on his Way weeping, and scattering*
 “ *his good Seed, shall doubtless come again with Joy,*
 “ *and bring his whole Sheaves with him. Then,*
 “ then shall the LORD wipe away all Tears from
 “ our Eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass
 “ that Saying that is written: *Death is swallowed*
 “ *up in Victory. Death, where is thy Sting? Hell,*
 “ *where is thy Victory? Yea, Thanks be to GOD,*

“ *who hath given us Victory through our LORD Jesus*
 “ *Christ. Amen.*

“ *HE biddeth us cast our Care on Him, and*
 “ *saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what*
 “ *tho’ for a Season he doth suffer us to be turmoil-*
 “ *ed in the troublesome Tempests of Temptation,*
 “ *and seemeth to have forgotten us? Let not us for*
 “ *that leave off to put our Trust in Him, but let*
 “ *us with godly Job conclude in our selves, and*
 “ *say: Even though He kill me, yet will I put my*
 “ *Trust in Him. Let us with blessed Abraham in*
 “ *Hope, even contrary to Hope, lean upon that*
 “ *our loving LORD, who though for our Probation*
 “ *He suffereth us to be afflicted, yet will He not be*
 “ *always chiding, neither keepeth He his Anger for*
 “ *ever: For He knoweth whereof we be made: He*
 “ *remembreth that we are but Dust. Wherefore,*
 “ *look how high the Heaven is in Comparison of the*
 “ *Earth, so great is his Mercy towards them which*
 “ *fear Him. Look how wide the East is from the*
 “ *West, so far hath He set our Sins from us.*
 “ *Yea, like as a Father pitieth his own Children,*
 “ *even so is the LORD merciful unto them that fear*
 “ *Him. Oh! what great Cause of Rejoicing have*
 “ *we in our most gracious GOD? We cannot but*
 “ *burst forth into Praise of such a bountiful Bene-*
 “ *factor, and say with the same Psalmist: Praise*
 “ *the LORD, O my Soul, and all that is within me*
 “ *praise his holy Name. Praise the LORD, O my*
 “ *Soul, and forget not all his Benefits.*

“ *DEAR Wife, Riches I have none to leave,*
 “ *wherewith to endow you after the worldly Man-*
 “ *ner: But that Treasure of Tasting how sweet*
 “ *Christ is (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel*
 “ *Part, and would feel more) that I bequeath unto*
 “ *you, and to the rest of my Beloved in Christ, to*
 “ *retain the same in Heart always. Pray, pray.*
 “ *I am*

“ I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre
 “ the Teeth of all the Devils in Hell. I utterly
 “ renounce my self, and resign my self unto my
 “ *Christ*, in whom I know I shall be strong, as
 “ he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

“ *Laurence Sanders.*”

WHILE he was in Prison, strict Charge was given to the Keeper that no Person should speak with him. His Wife yet came to the Prison Gate, with her young Child in her Arms, to visit her Husband. The Keeper, tho’ he durst not suffer her to come in, yet did he take the little Babe out of her Arms, and brought him to his Father: Mr. *Sanders* seeing him, greatly rejoiced, saying: That he rejoiced more to have such a Child, than he should if two thousand Pounds were given him. And unto the Standers-by, who praised the Comeliness of the Child, he said: What Man fearing God, would not lose this Life, rather than by prolonging it, he should adjudge this Boy to be a Bastard, his Wife a Whore, and himself a Whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other Cause, for which a Man of my Estate should lose his Life.

AT length, the Bishops called him, as they did the rest of his Fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which Examination, written by himself, the Purport followeth:

PRAISED be our Gracious God, who preserveth His from Evil, and giveth them Grace to avoid all such Offences as might hinder his Honour, or hurt his Church. *Amen.*

BEING convened before the Queen’s most honourable Council, sundry Bishops being present, the Lord Chancellor began to speak as followeth:

YOU have been a Prisoner for abominable Heresies and false Doctrine: Yet, it is thought good that Mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore, if you will shew your self conformable, Mercy is ready. Give us forthwith a direct Answer.

SANDERS replied: My Lords, may it please your Honours to give me Leave to answer with Deliberation?

LEAVE off your Painting and Pride of Speech, says the Chancellor: Such is the Fashion of you all. Answer, Yea, or Nay.

MY Lord, says *Sanders*, it is no Time for me to paint. And as for Pride, there is no great Cause why it should be in me. My Learning I confess to be but small: And as for Riches, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it behoves me to answer circumspectly, considering one of these extreme Perils are like to fall upon me: The losing a good Conscience, or the losing Life. And I tell you the Truth, I love both Life and Liberty, if I could enjoy them without Hurt to my Conscience.

CONSCIENCE! quoth the Chancellor: you have none at all, but Pride and Arrogancy, dividing your selves from the Church.

SANDERS replied: The LORD is the Knower of all Men's Consciences. And whereas your Lordship layeth to my Charge this Dividing my self from the Church: I assure you, I live in the Faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen Years old: being taught that the Power of the Bishop of *Rome* is but usurp'd, with many other Abuses springing thereof. Yea, This I have received at Your Hands, that are here present, as a
 Thing

Thing agreed upon by the Catholick Church, and Publick Authority.

YEA, marry, but have you received at our Hands, your Heresies of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? says the Chancellor.

MY Lord, answer'd he: It is less Offence to cut off an Arm of a Man, than to cut off the Head. For the Man may live though he lack an Arm, and so he cannot without his Head. But you, all of you, agreed to cut off the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, whom now you will have to be the Head of the Church again.

THEN spoke the Bishop of *London*: If it like your Lordship, I have his Hand against the Blessed Sacrament. How say you to that?

SANDERS reply'd: What I have written, that I have written. Nothing have you to burden me withal for breaking your Laws since they were in Force.

THE Chancellor subjoined: Well, you are obstinate, and refuse Liberty.

MY Lord, I may not buy Liberty at such a Price, says *Sanders*. But I beseech your Honours to be Means to the Queen's Majesty for such a Pardon for us, that we may live and keep our Consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient Subjects. Otherwise, I must say for my self, that by God's Grace, I will abide the Extremity that Man can do against me, rather than do against my Conscience.

AH, Sirrah, cries the Chancellor, you will live as you list. You are not meet to live on Earth:
And

And that you shall know within these seven Days; therefore, away with him.

WELCOME be it, quoth *Sanders*, whatsoever the Will of GOD shall be, either Life or Death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent Blood. Truly, it will cry. The Spirit of GOD rest upon all your Honours. *Amen.*

THIS Examination being ended, the Officers led him out of the Place, and so stayed 'till the rest of his Fellows were examined, that they might have them all together to Prison. *Laurence Sanders* standing among the Officers, seeing there a great Multitude of People, opened his Mouth, and spake freely, warning them all of falling from CHRIST to Antichrist; and exhorting them by Repentance to rise again, and to embrace CHRIST with stronger Faith; to confess him to the End, in the Defiance of Antichrist, Sin, Death, and the Devil. After he was excommunicate, and deliver'd to the Secular Power, he was brought by the Sheriff of *London* to the *Compter*, in his own Parish: whereat he greatly rejoiced, both because he found there a Fellow-Prisoner, with whom he had comfortable Conference; and also, because out of Prison, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Parishioners.

THE fourth Day of *February*, the Bishop of *London* came to the Prison where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. *Sanders* said to him: I thank GOD, I am none of your Church.

THE Day following, in the Morning, the Sheriff of *London* delivered him to certain of the
Queen's

Queen's Guard, who were appointed to carry him to the City of *Coventry*, there to be burned. The first Night they came to *St. Alban's*, where *Mr. Grimoald* (a Man who had more Gifts than Constancy) came to speak with him. *Mr. Sanders* took a Cup in his Hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that Cup. *Grimoald* said: Of that Cup which is in your Hand I will pledge you: but of that other, which you mean, I will not promise. Well, said *Mr. Sanders*, my dear LORD JESUS hath begun to me of a more bitter Cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope.

AFTER they were come to *Coventry*, the same Night a poor Shoe-maker, who used to serve him with Shoes, came to him, and said: O my good Master, GOD strengthen you! Gramercies, good Shoe-maker, quoth *Sanders*; and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest Man for this high Office, that ever was appointed to it: But my gracious GOD and dear Father, is able to make me strong enough. That Night he was put into the Common Goal among other Prisoners, where he slept little, spending the Night in Prayer, and instructing of others.

THE next Day, the 8th of *February*, he was led to the Place of Execution in the Park without the City, going in an old Gown and a Shirt, bare-footed, and often Times he fell flat on the Ground, and pray'd. When he was come near to the Place, the Officer, appointed to see the Execution done, said to *Mr. Sanders*: Thou art one of them which mar the Queen's Realm with false Doctrine, wherefore thou hast deserved Death; but yet if thou wilt revoke thine Heresies, the Queen hath pardon'd thee: If not, yonder Fire is prepared for thee. To whom *Mr. Sanders* answered: It is not I, nor my

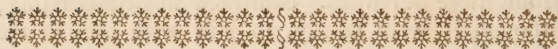
my Fellow-Preachers of GOD's Truth, that have hurt the Queen's Realm, but it is your self, and such as you are, which have always resisted GOD's holy Word; it is you which have and do mar the Queen's Realm. I do hold no Heresies; but the Doctrine of GOD, the blessed Gospel of CHRIST; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that he cry'd, Away with him. And away from him went Mr. Sanders, with a merry Courage, towards the Fire. He fell to the Ground, and pray'd: He rose up again, and took the Stake in his Arms, and kissed it, saying: *Welcome the Cross of CHRIST, welcome everlasting Life:* And being fastened to the Stake, and Fire put to him, he slept full sweetly in the LORD.

AT the Beginning of Queen MARY's Reign, Dr. Pendleton and Mr. Sanders, Men known to the World, not only to be learned, but also earnest Preachers of GOD's Word, met together in the Country, where they fell to debate what was best to be done in so dangerous a Season. Mr. Sanders seemed so fearfull and feeble-spirited, that he shewed himself in Appearance, likely either to fall quite from GOD and his Word, which he had taught, or at least to fly the Land. Dr. Pendleton took upon him to comfort Mr. Sanders, admonishing him not to forsake his Flock when he had most Need to defend them; neither to start aside now, having put his Hand to GOD's Plough. After which Persuasions, What, Man! (added the Doctor) there is a great deal more Cause in Me to be afraid than You; forasmuch as You see I carry a greater Mass of Flesh upon my Back than you do: Yet I will see the uttermost Drop of this Grease molten away, and the last Gobbet of this Flesh consumed to Ashes, before I will forsake GOD and his Truth. Whereunto the other answering but little,

little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more Strength, consented notwithstanding, though it were faintly, to join with him in the Profession of the Gospel, and so to go up to *London*, and preach the same. Whereupon they gave each other their Hands.

WHEN they were come to *London*, the poor, feeble, faint-hearted *Sanders*, by the Goodness of Almighty God, boldly and stoutly confirmed his Flock: On the other Side, Dr. *Pendleton* changed his Voice, preaching, instead of sound Doctrine, nothing but Errors and Lies; advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing *Christ* with all his Might, to the great Offence of his Brethren, the Hurt of his Flock, and the utter Undoing of his own Soul. Wherefore let him that standeth take Heed he fall not: and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have Faith, that He will help and increase our Faith, that in Him it may be made strong.





T H E
MARTYRDOM
O F

Mr. *JOHN HOOPER*,

Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

JOHN HOOPER, Student and Graduate in the University of *Oxford*, after the Study of the Sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited, through GOD's secret Vocation was stirred with fervent Desire to the Love and Knowledge of the Scriptures. In the Searching whereof, as there lacked in him no Diligence joined with earnest Prayer; so neither wanted unto him the Grace of the Holy Ghost to open unto him the Light of true Divinity.

MR. *Hooper* growing more and more, by GOD's Grace, in Ripeness of Spiritual Understanding, and shewing withall a fervent Spirit, about the Beginning of the six Articles, in the Time of King *Henry VIII.* fell into Displeasure of certain Rabbins in *Oxford*, who by and by began to stir Coals
against

against him, whereby he was compelled to leave the University; and so removing from thence, was retained in the House of Sir *Thomas Arundel*, as his Steward, till Sir *Thomas* having Intelligence of his Opinions, which he in no Case favoured, tho' he exceedingly favoured the Person and Conditions of the Man, found Means to send him in a Message to the Bishop of *Winchester*, writing privily to the Bishop by Conference, to do some Good upon him, but in any Case to send Home his Servant again.

WINCHESTER, after long Conference with Mr. *Hooper*, four or five Days together, when he at length perceived, that he could not do that which he thought to him, according to Mr. *Arundel's* Request, sent Home his Servant, commending his Learning and Wit, but yet bearing in his Breast a Grudge against him.

NOT long after, Intelligence was given to Mr. *Hooper* to provide for himself, for Danger was working against him. Whereupon leaving Mr. *Arundel's* House, he took his Journey to the Sea-Side and went to *France*. Being at *Paris*, he tarried there not long, but in short Time returned into *England*, and was retained of Mr. *Sentlow*, till he was again molested: whereby he was compelled to take to the Seas again, and so he escaped (although not without extreme Peril of Drowning) through *France* to the higher Parts of *Germany*. Where, entring Acquaintance with the learned Men, he was of them lovingly entertained, both at *Basil*, and especially at *Zurick*, of Mr. *Bullinger*, being his singular Friend. Here he married his Wife, who was a *Burgundian*, and applied very studiously to the *Hebrew* Tongue.

AT length, when GOD saw good, Mr. *Hooper*, seeing such a Time and Occasion, offered to help forward the LORD's Work, to the uttermost of his Ability. And so coming to Mr. *Bullinger*, and other of his Acquaintance in *Zurick*, to give them Thanks for their Kindness and Humanity towards him, he took his Leave, assuring them: *You shall hear from me, and I will write to you from Time to Time, how it goes with me. But the last News of all I shall not be able to write: for, (said he, taking Mr. Bullinger by the Hand) where I shall take most Pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to Ashes.*

WHEN he had taken his Farewel of Mr. *Bullinger*, and his Friends in *Zurick*, he came into *England* in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* where coming to *London*, he used continually to preach, most Times twice, at least once every Day.

IN his Sermons, he sharply inveighed against the Iniquity of the World, and corrupt Abuses of the Church. The People in great Companies daily came to hear him; insomuch, that often when he was preaching, the Church would be so full, that none could enter further than the Doors thereof. In his Doctrine, he was earnest, in Tongue, eloquent, in the Scriptures, perfect, in Pains, indefatigable.

BESIDES his other Gifts, this is to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued unto his Life's End. For neither could his Labour and Pain-taking break him, neither Promotion change him, neither dainty Fare corrupt him. His Life was so pure and good, that no kind of Slander (although divers went) could fasten any Fault upon him. He was of Body strong, his Health whole and sound, his Wit very pregnant, his invincible Patience able to sustain whatsoever Adversity could do.

do. He was constant of Judgment, a good Justice, spare of Diet, sparer of Words, and sparest of Time. In House-keeping, very liberal, and sometime more free than his Living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those Virtues and Qualities required of St. *Paul* in a good Bishop, in his Epistle to *Timothy*, I know not one lacking in him. He bare in Countenance and Talk always, a certain, severe and grave Grace, which might peradventure, be wished sometime to have been a little more popular; but he himself best knew what he had to do.

AFTER he had thus practised this popular and common Kind of Preaching; at length, he was called to preach before the King, and soon after made Bishop of *Gloucester*. In that Office he continued two Years, and behaved himself so well, that his very Enemies (except it were for his good Doings, and sharp Correction of Sin) could find no Fault with him.

BUT I cannot tell what unlucky Contention concerning the Apparel of Bishops, began to disturb the good Beginning of the godly Bishop. This he could in no wise be perswaded to wear. For this Cause, he made Supplication to the King's Majesty, most humbly desiring his Highness, either to discharge him of his Bishoprick, or else to dispense with him for such Ceremonial Orders. Whose Petition the King immediately granted. Nevertheless the Bishops contended, that the Fault was in the Abuse, and not in the Use of the Things, and that for his Stubbornness in refusing the Habit, was intollerable.

BUT the contending Parties, afterward being in Prison for the Truth's Sake, reconciled themselves with most godly Agreement, as appeareth by this Letter sent by Bishop *Ridley* to the Bishop of *Gloucester*.

To my dear Brother, and Reverend Fellow-Elder in CHRIST, *John Hooper*,
Grace and Peace.

M*Y* dearly beloved Brother, and Fellow-Elder, whom I reverence in the LORD, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your Captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my Letters: I confess, I have received from you (such was your Gentleness) two Letters at sundry Times: but yet at such Time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or if I might, I was in Doubt how my Letters might safely come into your Hands. But now, my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your Works, that we thoroughly agree in those Things, which are the substantial Points of our Religion, against which the World so furiously rageth, howsoever in Time past, by certain Circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom, and my Simplicity hath a little jarred, each of us following the Abundance of his own Sense and Judgment; now, (I say) be you assured, that even with my whole Heart, GOD is my Witness, in the Bowels of Christ, I love you in the Truth, and for the Truth's Sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the Grace of GOD, abide in us for evermore.

AND because the World busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible Force and Power, (exalting high Things against the Knowledge of GOD) let us join Hands together in Christ, and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our Power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake these Strong-Holds, not with carnal, but with spiritual Weapons: and withal, Brother, let us prepare our selves to the Day of our Dissolution, by the which, after the short Time of this bodily Affliction, by the Grace of our LORD
Jesus

Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with Him in Eternal Glory.

I pray you, Brother, salute in my Name, your Reverend Fellow Prisoner, and venerable Father, D. C. by whom, since the first Day that I heard of his most godly Constancy, in confessing the Truth of the Gospel, I have conceived great Consolation and Joy in the LORD. For the Integrity and Uprightness of that Man, his Gravity and Innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be GOD therefore, which in such Abundance of Iniquity and Decay of all Godliness, hath given unto us, in his Reverend old Age, such a Witness for the Truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the constant Confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a Man, will not move to acknowledge the Truth of GOD.

IT shall be to me great Joy to hear of your Constancy and Fortitude in the LORD's Quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my Mind touching the Matter which in your Letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, Brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many Perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the Publishing of your Works, for I fear greatly, lest by this Occasion, both your Mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all Things taken away from the rest of the Prisoners, whereby (otherwise) if it so please GOD, they may be able to do Good to many. Farewell in the LORD, my most dear Brother; and if there be any more in Prison with you for Christ's Sake, I beseech you, salute them in my Name. To whose Prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend my self and my Fellow Prisoners in the LORD; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear Brother, Farewell.

N. RIDLEY.

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MR.

MR. *Hooper*, after all these Tumults, at length entring into his Diocese, did there employ his Time which the LORD lent him under King *Edward's* Reign, with such Diligence, as may be a Spectacle to all Bishops, which shall ever hereafter succeed him; so careful was he in his Cure, that he left neither Pains untaken, nor Ways unsought, how to train up the Flock of *Christ* in the true Word of Salvation, continually labouring in the same.

HE abhorred nothing more than Gain, labouring always to save and preserve the Souls of his Flock, and so ruling his Diocese, as though he had in Charge but one Family. No Father in his Household, no Gardiner in his Garden, nor Husbandman in his Vineyard, was more occupied, than he in his Diocese, amongst his Flock, going about his Towns and Villages in Teaching and Preaching to the People there.

THAT Time that he had to spare from Preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publick Causes, or else in private Study, Prayer, and Visiting of Schools: with his continual Doctrine he adjoined due and discreet Correction, not so severe to any, as to them who, for Abundance of Riches, thought they might do what they listed. He spared no kind of People, but was indifferent to all Men, as well Rich as Poor. How vertuous and good a Bishop he was, ye may concieve evidently by this, That even as he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so the worst of them all could not reprove his Life in any one Point.

THERE appeared in him at Home, no less Example of a worthy Prelate's Life. For though he bestowed the most part of his Care upon the Congregation of *Christ*, for which also he spent his Blood:

Blood: yet there lacked no Provision to bring up his own Children in Learning and good Manners; infomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more Praise for his Fatherly Usage at Home, or for his Bishop-like Doings Abroad. For every where he kept one Religion in one uniform Doctrine and Integrity. So that if you enter'd into the Bishop's Palace, you would suppose your self to have enter'd into some Church or Temple. In every Corner thereof, there was some Smell of Vertue, good Example, honest Conversation, and Reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his House any courtly Rioting or Idleness: no Pomp at all, no dishonest or idle Word could be heard there.

As for the Revenues of his Bishoprick, he Pursued nothing, but bestowed it in Hospitality. Twice I was at his House, where, in his common Hall, I saw a Table spread with good Store of Meat, and beset full of poor Folk: and I asking his Servants what this meant; they told me, That every Day their Master's Manner was, to have to Dinner a certain Number of poor Folk of the said City by Course, who were served by four at a Mess, and when they were served (being before examined by him or his Deputies, of the LORD's Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himself sat down to Dinner, and not before.

AFTER this Manner, Mr. *Hooper* executed his Office of a Pastor, by the Space of two Years and more: And would GOD, that all other Bishops would use the like Diligence, Care, and Observance in their Function. After this, Queen *Mary* being Crowned, this good Bishop was one of the first that was sent for to *London*. He was not ignorant of the Evils that should happen, (for he
was

admonished by his Friends to get away) yet he would not, but said: *Once I did flee, but now, because I am called to this Place, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my Sheep.*

WHEN at the Day of his Appearance, which was the first of *September*, he was come to *London*, before he could come to *Bonner*, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his Will to appear before the Queen and her Council, and by them he was commanded to Ward.

THE next Year, *March 19, 1554*, he was called again to appear before *Winchester*, and other the Queen's Commissioners: where, what for the Bishop, and what for the unruly Multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his Cause, he was deprived of his Bishoprick.

Mr. HOOPER's Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own Hand the 7th of January, 1554.

THE First of *September, 1553*, I was committed to the *Fleet* from *Richmond*, to have the Liberty of the Prison; and within six Days after I paid for my Liberty five Pounds Sterling to the Warden: Who, immediately upon the Payment thereof, complained unto *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*; and so I was committed to close Prison one Quarter of a Year in the Tower Chamber of the *Fleet*, and used very extremely. Then by the Means of a good Gentlewoman, I had Liberty to come down to Dinner and Supper, not suffered to speak to any of my Friends; but as soon as Dinner and Supper was done, to repair to my Chamber again. Notwithstanding whilst I came
down

down thus to Dinner and Supper, the Warden and his Wife picked Quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great Friend the Bishop of *Winchester*.

AFTER a Quarter of a Year, *Babington*, the Warden, and his Wife, fell out with me for the Mass; and thereupon the Warden resorted to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and obtained to put me into the Wards, where I have continued a long Time, having Nothing appointed to me for my Bed but a little Pad of Straw and a rotten Covering, the Chamber being vile and stinking; on one Side of which is the Sink and Filth of the House, and on the other Side the Town Ditch, so that the Stench of the House hath infected me with sundry Diseases.

DURING which Time I have been sick; and the Doors, Bars, Hasps, and Chains being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for Help: But the Warden, when he hath known me many Times ready to die, and when the poor Men of the Wards have called to help me, hath commanded the Doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his Men should come to me, saying: *Let him alone, it were a good Rid-dance of him.*

I PAID always like a Baron to the said Warden, as well in Fees as for my Board, which was twenty Shillings a Week, besides my Man's Table, untill I was deprived of my Bishoprick, and since that Time I have paid him as the best Gentleman doth in his House; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the veriest Slave that ever came to the Hall Commons.

THE

THE said Warden hath also imprisoned my Man, *William Downton*, and stripped him of his Cloaths to search for Letters, and, altho' he found none but only a little Remembrance of good People's Names that gave me their Alms to relieve me in Prison; and to undo them also, the Warden delivered the same Bill unto *Stephen Gardiner*, God's Enemy and mine.

I HAVE suffered Imprisonment almost eighteen Months; my Goods, Living, Friends, and Comfort taken from me. The Queen owing me by just Account eighty Pounds or upwards, hath put me in Prison, and giveth Nothing to support me; neither is there any one suffered to come to me, whereby I might have Relief. I am with a wicked Man and Woman, so that I see no Remedy (saving God's Help) but I shall be cast away in Prison before I come to Judgment. But I commit my just Cause to God, whose Will be done, whether it be by Life or Death."

THE 22d of *January* following, 1555, *Babington*, the Warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. *Hooper* before the Bishop of *Winchester*, with other Bishops and Commissioners at *Winchester-House*, in *St. Mary-Overy's*.

THE Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Name of himself and the Rest, moved Mr. *Hooper* to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church, and to acknowledge the Pope to be Head of the Church; saying: Mercy was ready to be shewed to him, if he would condescend to the Pope's Holiness.

MR. *Hooper* answer'd: That forasmuch as the Pope taught Doctrine altogether contrary to the Doctrine of *Christ*, he was not worthy to be accounted a Member of *Christ's* Church, much less
to

to be Head thereof; wherefore, he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped Jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the Church, whereof they call him Head, to be the Catholick Church of *Christ*. Howbeit (saith he) if in any Point, to me unknown, I have offended the Queen's Majesty, I will most humbly submit myself to her Mercy, if Mercy may be had with Safety of Conscience.

ANSWER was made, that the Queen would shew no Mercy to the Pope's Enemies. Whereupon *Babington* was commanded to bring him to the *Fleet* again.

THE 28th of *January*, *Winchester* and other Commissioners sat in Judgment at *St. Mary-Overy's*, where *Hooper* appeared before them again. After much Reasoning, he was commanded aside, 'till Mr. *Rogers* had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffs of *London* were commanded, about Four o'Clock, to carry them to the *Compter* in *Southwark*, there to remain 'till the Morrow at Nine o'Clock, to see whether they would come Home to the Catholick Church. So Mr. *Hooper* went before with one of the Sheriffs, and Mr. *Rogers* came after with the other; and being out of the Church-Door, Mr. *Hooper* looked back, and staid a little, 'till Mr. *Rogers* drew near, unto whom he said: *Come, Brother Rogers, must we two take this Matter first in Hand, and begin to fry these Faggots? Yea, Sir,* (said Mr. *Rogers*) *by God's Grace. Doubt not,* (said Mr. *Hooper*) *but God will give Strength.* So going forwards, there was such a Press of People in the Streets, which rejoiced at their Constancy, that they had much Trouble to pass.

By the Way, the Sheriff said to Mr. *Hooper*: *I wonder that ye were so hasty with my Lord Chancellor,*

cellor, and did use no more Patience. He answer'd: *Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, altho' I was earnest in my Master's Cause, and it standeth me so in Hand, for it goeth upon Life and Death, not the Life and Death of this Life only, but also of the World to come.* Then they were committed to the Keeper of the *Compter*, and appointed to several Chambers, with Orders, That they should not speak one with another, neither any be permitted to come to them.

THE Day following, the 29th, at the Hour appointed, they were brought again by the Sheriffs before the Commissioners in the Church. After long Talk, when they perceiv'd *Mr. Hooper* would by no Means condescend to them, they condemn'd him to be degraded, and read unto him his Condemnation. That done, *Mr. Rogers* was brought before them, and in like Manner treated; and so they deliver'd both of them to the Secular Power, the two Sheriffs of *London*, who were willed to carry them to the *Clink*, a Prison not far from the Bishop of *Winchester's* House, and there to remain 'till Night.

WHEN it was Dark, *Mr. Hooper* was led by one of the Sheriffs, with many Bills and Weapons, first thorough the Bishop of *Winchester's* House, and so over *London-Bridge*, thorough the City to *Newgate*. Some of the Serjeants were willed to go before, and put out the Candles of those, who used to sit with Lights in the Street; fearing, that the People would have made some Attempt to have taken him away from them by Force.

BUT notwithstanding this, the People having some Knowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their Doors with Lights, and saluted him,

him, praising GOD for his Constancy in the true Doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring GOD to strengthen him in the same to the End. Mr. *Hooper* passed by, and required the People to make their earnest Prayers to GOD for him; and so went through *Cheapside* to the Place appointed, and was deliver'd close Prisoner to the Keeper of *Newgate*, where he remain'd six Days, no Body being permitted to come to him.

ONLY *Bonner* of *London*, and others at his Appointment, as *Fecknam*, *Chedsey*, and *Harpsfield*, resorted divers Times unto him, to try if by any Means they could persuade him to be a Member of their Church. All the Ways they could devise, they attempted. For, besides Disputation, they used all outward Gentleness and Significations of Friendship, with many great Proffers of worldly Commodities, not omitting most grievous Threatnings, if with Gentleness they could not prevail; but they found him always the same Man, stedfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no Means reclaim him, then went they about by false Reports of his Recantation, to bring him, and the Doctrine of *Christ* which he professed, out of Credit with the People. He was not a little grieved that the People should give so light Credit unto false Rumours, as it may appear by a Letter which he wrote upon that Occasion, as follows:

THE Grace of our LORD Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the Coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

DEAR Brethren and Sisters in the LORD, and my Fellow-Prisoners for the Cause of GOD's Gospel; I much rejoice and give Thanks unto GOD for your Constancy and Perseverance in Affliction, unto whom

I wish Continuance unto the End. Yet such is the Report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I JOHN HOOPER, a condemn'd Man for the Cause of Christ, should now after Sentence of Death, (being Prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for Execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this Talk ariseth of this, that the Bishop of London and his Chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our Brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I refused to talk with them, they might have just Occasion to say, that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned Men, or else proud and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just Suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report, that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all Men to do as I do in this Point. For I fear not their Arguments, neither is Death terrible to me; praying you to make true Report of the same, and that I am more confirmed in the Truth, which I have preached heretofore, by their Coming.

THEREFORE, ye that may send to the weak Brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such Reports of Recantations. For I have hitherto left all Things, and suffered great Pains and Imprisonment, and I thank GOD I am as ready to suffer Death as a mortal Man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such Rumours. We have Enemies enough of such as know not GOD: But the false Report of weak Brethren is a double Cross. I wish you eternal Salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual Prayers, that He which hath begun in us, may continue it to the End.

I have taught the Truth with my Tongue, and with my Pen heretofore, and hereafter shall confirm it, by
GOD's

GOD's Grace, with my Blood. Forth of *Newgate* the 2d of *February*, 1554.

Your Brother in CHRIST,

JOHN HOOPER.

UPON *Monday* Morning, the Bishop of *London* came to *Newgate*, and there degraded Mr. *Hooper*.

AFTER the Degradation of Bp. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers*, they were deliver'd to the Sheriffs, Mr. *Woodroose*, and Sir *William Chester*; who, receiving first Mr. *Rogers* at the Hands of the Bishop, led him away with them to the Place of Execution.

THE same Day at Night, Bp. *Hooper's* Keeper gave him Notice, that he would be sent to *Gloucester* to suffer Death: whereat he greatly rejoiced, lifting up his Eyes and Hands unto Heaven, and praised GOD that he saw it good to send him amongst the People, over whom he was Pastor, there to confirm with his Death the Truth he had taught them; not doubting but the LORD would give him Strength to perform the same to his Glory: And immediately he sent to his Servant's House for his Boots, Spurs, and Cloak, that he might be in Readiness to ride when he should be called.

THE Day following, about Four in the Morning, before Day, the Keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the Bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any Thing; and then he was led by the Sheriffs of *London* and their Officers forth of *Newgate*, to a Place appointed, not far from St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleet-street*, where

six of the Queen's Guards were appointed to receive him; and to carry him to *Gloucester*, there to be delivered unto the Sheriff, who with the *Ld. Shandois*, *Mr. Wicks*, and other Commissioners, were appointed to see Execution done. The Guard brought him to the *Angel*, where he brake his Fast, eating more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About Break of Day he took Horse cheerfully; wearing a Hood upon his Head under his Hat that he might not be known; and so he took his Journey joyfully towards *Gloucester*; and always by the Way, the Guard learned of him where he was accustomed to Bait or Lodge, and ever carried him to another Inn.

ON the *Thursday* following, he came to a Town in his Diocese, call'd *Cirencester*, 15 Miles from *Gloucester*, about Eleven o'Clock, and there dined at a Woman's House which had always hated the Truth, and spoken all Evil of *Mr. Hooper*. This Woman, being inform'd of the Cause of his coming, shewed him all the Friendship she could, and lamented his Case with Tears; confessing, that before she had often reported, That if he were put to the Trial, he would not stand to his Doctrine.

AFTER Dinner he rode forwards, and came to *Gloucester* about Five o'Clock. A Mile without the Town Abundance of People were assembled, who cried and lamented his Estate; insomuch, that one of the Guard rode Post into the Town, to require Aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The Officers and their Retinue repaired to the Gate with their Weapons, and commanded the People to keep their Houses; but there was no Man that once gave the least Signification of any Rescue or Violence. So was he lodged at one *Ingram's* House in *Gloucester*, and that Night (as he had
done

done all the Way) he eat his Meat quietly, and slept his first Sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the Guard. After his first Sleep, he continued in Prayer untill the Morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next Chamber (for the Guard were also in the Chamber where he lay) that there being alone, he might pray and talk with GOD. So that all the Day, saving a little at Meat, and when he talked at any Time with such as the Guard suffer'd, to speak with him, he bestowed in Prayer.

AMONGST those that spake with him, Sir *Anthony Kingston* was one. Who, seeming in Time past his Friend, was appointed by the Queen's Letters to be one of the Commissioners, to see Execution done upon him. Mr. *Kingston* being bro't into the Chamber, found him at Prayers: and as soon as he saw Mr. *Hooper*, he burst forth into Tears. Mr. *Hooper* at first knew him not. Then said Mr. *Kingston*, Why, my Lord, do you not know an old Friend, *Anthony Kingston*?

YES, Mr. *Kingston*, I now know you well, and am glad to see you in Health, and do praise GOD for the same.

BUT I am sorry to see you in this Case, replied *Kingston*; for as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas, consider that Life is sweet, and Death is bitter. Therefore, seeing Life may be had, desire to live; for Life hereafter may do Good.

INDEED it is true, Mr. *Kingston*, said he, I am come hither to end this Life, because I will not gainsay the Truth that I have taught amongst you: and I thank you for your friendly Counsel, altho' it be not so friendly as I could have wished. True it is, that Death is bitter, and Life is

sweet: But, alas, consider that the Death to come is more bitter, and the Life to come more sweet. Therefore, for the Desire and Love I have to the one, and the Terror and Fear of the other; I do not so much regard this Death, nor esteem this Life: but have settled my self, through the Strength of GOD's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the Torments of the Fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the Truth of his Word, desiring you and others, in the mean Time, to commend me to GOD's Mercy in your Prayers.

WELL, my Lord; says *Kingston*, then I perceive there is no Remedy; and therefore I will take my Leave: and I thank GOD that ever I knew you: for GOD did appoint You to call Me, being a lost Child: and by your good Instructions, whereas before I was both an Adulterer and a Fornicator, GOD hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same.

IF you have had the Grace so to do, says Mr. *Hooper*, I praise GOD for it: and if you have not, I pray GOD you may; and that you may continually live in his Fear. After some other Words, the one took Leave of the other. Mr. *Kingston* wept bitterly: The Tears also trickled down Mr. *Hooper's* Cheeks. At which Departure, Mr. *Hooper* told him, that all the Troubles he had sustained in Prison, had not caused him to shew so much Sorrow.

THE same Day in the Afternoon, a blind Boy, after long Intercession made to the Guard, obtained License to be brought unto Mr. *Hooper*. The Boy not long afore had suffered Imprisonment for confessing of the Truth. Mr. *Hooper*, after he had examined him of his Faith, and Cause of his Imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the Water appearing in his Eyes) said unto him: Ah poor Boy,

Boy, GOD hath taken from thee thy outward Sight, for what Reason He best knoweth: but He hath given thee another Sight much more precious; for He hath endued thy Soul with the *Eye of Faith*. GOD give thee Grace, continually to pray unto Him, that thou lose not *that* Sight.

THE same Night he was committed by the Guard, their Commission being expired, to the Sheriffs of *Gloucester*. The Name of the one was *Jenkins*, the other *Band*, who with the Mayor and Aldermen repaired to Mr. *Hooper's* Lodging; and at the first Meeting saluted him, and took him by the Hand. Unto whom *Hooper* spake on this Manner. *Mr. Mayor, I give most hearty Thanks to you, and to the rest of your Brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me a Prisoner and a condemned Man by the Hand; whereby, to my Rejoicing, it is apparent that your old Love and Friendship is not altogether extinguished: And I trust also, that all the Things I have taught you in Times past, are not utterly forgotten. For the which True Doctrine, because I will not now account it Falshood and Heresy, I am sent hither (as you know) by the Queen's Commandment, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my Blood. And now, Mr. Sheriffs, I understand by these good Men (meaning the Guard) at whose Hands I have found as much Favour and Gentleness by the Way hitherward, as a Prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them) that I am committed to your Custody, as unto them that must see me brought To-morrow to the Place of Execution. My Request, therefore, to you shall be only, That there may be a quick Fire, shortly to make an End; and in the mean Time I will be as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any Thing, hold up your Finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one compelled to die: For it is well known, I might have*
had

had my Life, with worldly Gain; but as one willing to give my Life for the Truth; rather than to consent to the wicked Religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the Magistrates in England, to GOD's high Displeasure and Dishonour; and I trust, by GOD's Grace, To-morrow to die a Faithful Servant of GOD, and a True obedient Subject to the Queen.

THUS spake Mr. *Hooper* to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two Sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the Common Goal of the Town, called *Northgate*, if the Guard had not made earnest Intercession for him: who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the Way; adding thereto, that any Child might keep him well enough; and that they themselves would sooner take Pains to watch with him, than he should be sent to the Common Prison. So it was at length determined, he should still remain in *Robert Ingram's* House; and the Sheriffs and Serjeants, and other Officers, watched with him that Night themselves. His Desire was, That he might go to Bed that Night betimes; saying, That he had many Things to remember: and so he did at Five o'Clock, and slept one Sleep soundly; and bestowed the rest of the Night in Prayer. After he got up in the Morning, he desired that no Man should be suffer'd to come into the Chamber, that he might be alone 'till the Hour of Execution.

ABOUT Eight o'Clock came Sir *John Bridges*, Lord *Shandois*, with a great Band of Men, Sir *Anthony Kingston*, Sir *Edmund Bridges*, and other Commissioners, appointed to see Execution done. At Nine of the Clock, Mr. *Hooper* was willed to pre-

prepare himself; for the Time was at Hand. Immediately he was brought down from his Chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with Bills, and other Weapons. When he saw the Multitude of Weapons, he spake to the Sheriffs: *Mr. Sheriffs, I am no Traitor, neither needed you to have made such a Business to bring me to the Place where I must suffer: For if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the Stake, and have troubled none of you all.* Afterward, looking about upon the Multitude of People that were assembled, (being by Estimation to the Number of 7000: for it was Market-day, and many also came to see his Behaviour at his Death) he spake unto those that were about him, saying: *Alas! why be these People assembled and come together? Peradventure, they think to hear something of me now, as they have in Times past; but, alas! Speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the Cause of my Death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere Doctrine, and that out of the Word of GOD: Because I will not now account the same Heresy and Untruth, this Kind of Death is prepared for me.*

So he went forward, led between the two Sheriffs (as it were a Lamb to the Place of Slaughter) in a Gown of his Host's, his Hat upon his Head, and a Staff in his Hand to stay himself withal. For the Pain of the *Sciatica*, which he had taken in Prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the Way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his Mouth; but beholding the People all the Way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the Time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a Countenance as he did at that present.

present. When he came to the Place where he was to die, he beheld smilingly the Stake and Preparation made for him, which was near to the great Elm-Tree over-against the College of Priests, where he was wont to preach. The Place round about, the Houses, and the Boughs of the Tree, were full of People; and in the Chamber over the College-Gate, stood the Priests of the College. Then he kneeled down (forasmuch as he could not be suffer'd to speak to the People) to Prayer, and beckned six or seven Times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said Prayer, to make Report thereof in Time to come (pouring Tears upon his Shoulders and in his Bosom) who gave attentive Ears unto the same: the which Prayer he made upon the Creed; wherein he continued the Space of half an Hour. After he was entred into his Prayer, a Box was brought and laid before him upon a Stool, with his Pardon, from the Queen, if he would turn. At the Sight whereof he cried, *If you love my Soul, away with it; if you love my Soul, away with it.* The Box being taken away, the Lord Shandois said: Seeing there is no Remedy, dispatch him quickly. Mr. Hooper said: *Good my Lord, I trust, your Lordship will give me Leave to make an End of my Prayers.*

THEN said the Lord Shandois to Sir Edmund Bridges's Son, who gave Ear to Mr. Hooper's Prayer at his Request: *Edmund, take Heed that he do nothing but Pray: if he does, tell me, and I will quickly dispatch him.* Whilst this Talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak the following Words:

LORD, *I am Hell, but Thou art Heaven; I am a Sink of Sin, but Thou art a gracious GOD, and a merciful Redeemer. Have Mercy therefore upon me, most miserable Offender, after thy great*

great Mercy, and according to thine inestimable Goodness. Thou art ascended into Heaven, receive me to be Partaker of thy Joys, where Thou sittest in equal Glory with thy Father. For well knowest Thou, LORD, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor Servant; not for my Sins and Transgressions committed against Thee, but because I will not allow their wicked Doings, to the Denial of the Knowledge of thy Truth, wherewith it did please Thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me; the which, with as much Diligence as a poor Wretch might (being thereto called) I have set forth to thy Glory. And well seest Thou, my LORD and GOD, what terrible Pains and cruel Torments are prepared for thy Creature: Such, LORD, as without thy Strength, none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all Things, that are impossible with Man, are possible with Thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy Goodness, that in the Fire I break not the Rules of Patience; or else assuage the Terror of the Pains, as shall seem most to thy Glory.

As soon as the Mayor espied these Men, who made Report of the former Words, they were commanded away, and not suffer'd to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the Stake, and put off his Host's Gown, and deliver'd it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the Owner, and put off the rest of his Cloaths, unto his Doublet and Hose, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffs would not permit that, (such was their Greediness) unto whose Pleasures he obediently submitted himself; and his Doublet, Hose and Waistcoat were taken off. Then being in his Shirt, he took a Point from his Hose himself, and trussed his Shirt between his Legs, where he had a Pound of Gun-powder in a Bladder, and under each Arm the like Quantity, deliver'd him by the Guard. So desiring the People

to

to say the LORD's Prayer with him, and to pray for him (who perform'd it with Tears, during the Time of his Pains) he went to the Stake. When he was at the Stake, three Irons, made to bind him to the Stake, were brought; one for his Neck, another for his Middle, and the third for his Legs. But he refusing them, said: *Ye have no Need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not, but GOD will give Strength sufficient to abide the Extremity of the Fire, without Bands: notwithstanding suspecting the Weakness of the Flesh; but having assured Confidence in GOD's Strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good.*

So the Hoop of Iron prepared for his Middle was brought, which being somewhat too short (for his Belly was swoln with Imprisonment) he shrunk and put in his Belly with his Hand, until it was fasten'd; and when they offer'd to have bound his Neck and Legs with the other two Hoops of Iron, he said: *I am well assured I shall not trouble you.*

THUS being ready, he looked upon the People, of whom he might be well seen (for he was Tall, and stood also on an high Stool) and beheld round about him; and in every Corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful People. Then lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, he prayed to himself. Presently, he that was appointed to make the Fire came to him, and ask'd him Forgiveness. Of whom he ask'd, *Why he should forgive him?* Saying: *That he knew no Offence he had committed against him.* O Sir, (said the Man) *I am appointed to make the Fire.* Therein (said Mr. Hooper) *thou dost Nothing offend me; GOD forgive thee thy Sins; and do thine Office I pray thee.* Then the Reeds were cast up, and he receiv'd two Bundles of them in his own Hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either Arm one of them,

them, and shew'd with his Hand how the Rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the Place where any did lack.

ANON Commandment was given, that the Fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were as many green Faggots as two Horses could carry, it kindled not soon, and was a pretty While also before it took the Reeds. At length it burned about him, but the Wind having full Strength, (it was a lowering and cold Morning) it blew the Flame from him, so that he was in a Manner no more than scorch'd by the Fire.

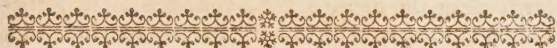
WITHIN a Space, a few dry Faggots were bro't, and a new Fire kindled therewith (for there were no more Reeds) and that burn'd at the Nether Part, but had small Power above, because of the Wind, saving that it did burn his Hair, and scorch his Skin a little. In the Time of which Fire, even as at the first Flame, he prayed, saying mildly, and not very loud (but as one without Pain) *O JESUS, Son of David, have Mercy upon me, and receive my Soul.* After the Second was spent, he wiped both his Eyes with his Hands, and beholding the People, he said, with an indifferent loud Voice: *For GOD's Love, good People, let me have more Fire.* All this While his Nether Parts did burn; but the Faggots were so few, that the Flame did not burn strongly at his Upper Parts.

THE third Fire was kindled within awhile after, which was more extreme than the other two; and then the Bladders of Gun-powder brake, which did him no Good, they were so placed, and the Wind had such Power. In the Fire he pray'd with somewhat of a loud Voice: *LORD JESUS, have Mercy upon me. LORD JESUS have Mercy upon me. LORD JESUS, receive my Spirit.* And these were the last

Words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the Mouth, and his Tongue swoln, that he could not speak, yet his Lips went 'till they were shrunk to the Gums; and he knocked his Breast with his Hands, untill one of his Arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, (whilst Water and Blood dropped out at his Fingers Ends) untill by renewing of the Fire his Strength was gone, and his Hand did cleave fast to the Iron on his Breast. So immediately bowing forwards, he yielded up his Spirit.

THUS he was Three Quarters of an Hour or more in the Fire. Even as a Lamb he bore the Extremity thereof, neither moving forwards nor backwards, nor to any Side; but having his Nether Parts burned, and his Bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a Child in his Bed: And he now reigneth as a blessed Martyr, in the Joys of Heaven.





T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR.

THE Town of *Hadley*, in *Suffolk*, was one of the first that received the Word of God in all *England*, at the Preaching of Mr. *Bilney*: By whose Industry the Gospel of *Christ* had such Success, and took such Root there, that a great Number in that Parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well Women as Men. Their Children and Servants were also trained so diligently in the Knowledge of GOD's Word, that the whole Town seem'd rather an University of the Learned, than a Town of Cloth-making, or labouring People. And what is most to be commended, they were faithful Followers of GOD's Word in their Living.

IN this Town Dr. *Rowland Taylor* was Minister; who, at his first entering into his Benefice, did not, as too many do, let out his Benefice to a Farmer, that shall gather up the Profits, and set in an ignorant, unlearned Priest to serve the Cure;

and so they have the Fleece, care little or nothing for feeding the Flock: But, contrarily, left Archbishop *Cranmer*, with whom he was in Household, and made his Abode in *Hadley*. Here, as a good Shepherd, he gave himself wholly to the Study of the Holy Scripture; most faithfully endeavouring to fulfill that Charge, which the LORD gave to *Peter*, saying: *Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep.* No Sunday, nor Holy-day passed, nor other Time, when he might get the People together, but he preached to them the Word of God.

AND not only his Preaching, but all his Conversation was an Example of unfeigned Christian Life and true Holiness. He was void of Pride, humble and meek, as any Child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly resort unto him. Neither was his Lowliness childish or fearful; but as Occasion required, he would be stout in rebuking the Evil Doers; so that none was so Rich but he would tell him plainly his Fault, with such Earnestness and Gravity, as became a good Pastor. He was a Man very mild; void of all Rancour, Grudge, or Ill-will; ready to do Good to all Men; readily forgiving his Enemies; and never sought to do Ill to any.

TO the Poor that were blind, lame, sick, Bed-ridden, or that had many Children, he was a Father; a careful Patron, and diligent Provider; in-somuch, that he caused the Parishioners to make a general Provision for them: and he himself (besides the continual Relief that they found at his House) gave a Portion, yearly, to the common Alms-Box. His Wife also was an honest and sober Matron; and his Children brought up in the Fear of God, and good Learning. In a Word, he was a good *Salt of the Earth*, favourily biting
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the corrupt Manners of Evil Men; a Light in GOD's House set upon a Candlestick, for all Men to imitate and follow.

THUS continued this good Shepherd among his Flock, governing and leading them through the Wilderness of this World, all the Days of *Edward* the Sixth.

IN the Beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign, a certain Lawyer, called *Foster*, with one *John Clerk* of *Hadley*, conspired to bring Popery again into *Hadley Church*. For as yet *Dr. Taylor*, as a good Shepherd, had retained in his Church, the Reformation made by King *Edward*, and most earnestly preached against the Popish Corruptions.

THIS *Foster* and *Clerk*, with all Haste, built up the Altar, intending to bring in their Mass again, on *Palm-Monday*. But this Device took no Effect; for in the Night the Altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again, a second Time, and set diligent Watch, lest any should break it down again.

ON the Day following they came, bringing the Parson of *Aldam*, a Popish Sacrificer, who brought with him all his Implements; whom they and their Men guarded with Swords and Bucklers, lest any Man should disturb him in his Sacrifice.

WHEN *Dr. Taylor*, who sat studying the Word of GOD, heard the Bells ring, he arose and went to the Church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his Pastoral Office. Coming to the Church, he found the Church Doors shut and fast barred, saving the Chancel-Door, which was only latched. Where entering in, and coming into the Chancel, he saw a Popish Sacrificer

in his Robes, ready to begin his Apish Sacrifice, beset round with drawn Swords and Bucklers, lest any Man should approach to disturb him.

THEN said Dr. Taylor: *Thou Devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this Church of Christ to prophane and defile it with this abominable Idolatry?* With that started up Mr. Foster, and with a furious Countenance said: *Thou Traitor, what doest thou here to disturb the Queen's Proceedings?* Dr. Taylor answer'd: *I am no Traitor, but I am the Shepherd that Christ hath appointed to feed this His Flock: Wherefore I have good Authority to be here; and I command thee, thou Popish Wolf, in the Name of GOD, to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such Popish Idolatry, to poison Christ's Flock.*

THEN said Foster: *Wilt thou traiterously make a Commotion, and resist the Queen's Proceedings?* Dr. Taylor answer'd: *I make no Commotion; but it is you Papists that make Commotions and Tumults. I resist only with GOD's Word against your Popish Idolatries, which are against GOD's Word, the Queen's Honour, and tend to the utter Subversion of this Realm.*

THEN Foster, with his armed Men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with a strong Hand out of the Church, and the Popish Prelate proceeded. Dr. Taylor's Wife, who follow'd her Husband into the Church, when she saw her Husband thus violently thrust out of his Church, kneeled down and held up her Hands, and with a loud Voice said: *I beseech GOD, the righteous Judge to avenge this Injury.* Then they thrust her out of the Church also, and shut the Doors; for they feared the People would have rent their Sacrificer in Pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great Stones at the Windows, and missed very little the Popish Master.

WITHIN

WITHIN a Day or two after, *Foster* and *Clerk* complain'd of *Dr. Taylor* to *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor.

WHEN the Bishop heard this, he sent a Letter to *Dr. Taylor*, commanding him within certain Days to appear before him.

WHEN *Dr. Taylor's* Friends heard of this, they came to him, and earnestly counselled him to fly; alledging, That he could neither be heard to speak his Conscience, nor look for Justice at the Chancellor's Hands.

THEN said *Dr. Taylor*: Dear Friends, I most heartily thank you, for your tender Care over me. And although I know that there is neither Justice nor Truth to be look'd for at my Adversaries Hands, yet I know my Cause to be so Good and Righteous, and the Truth so strong upon my Side, that I will go, by GOD's Grace, and appear before them, and to their Beards resist their false Doing.

THEN said his Friends: Mr. Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your Duty, and testify'd the Truth, both by your godly Sermons, and also in resisting the Parson of *Aldam*.

OH, (quoth *Dr. Taylor*) what will ye have me do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible Days. Fly you, and do as your Conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with GOD's Grace) to go to the Bishop, and to his Beard to tell him, that he doth naught. GOD shall raise up Teachers of his People, which shall teach them with more Diligence and Success, than I have done. For GOD will not forsake his Church
though

though for a Time He correcteth us, and not without Cause.

As for me, I believe before GOD, I shall never be able to do GOD so good Service, as I can do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a Calling as I now have, nor so great Mercy of GOD proffer'd me, as is now at this present. For what Christian Man would not gladly die against the Pope and his Adherents? I know that the Papacy is the Kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of Falshood, so that all their Doctrine, even from *Christ's Cross and St. Nicholas be my Speed*, unto the End of their *Apocalypse*, is nothing but Idolatry, Superstition, Errors, Hypocrisy and Lies.

WHEREFORE I beseech you, and all my Friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but GOD will give me Strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine Adversaries shall be ashamed of their Doings.

WHEN his Friends saw him so constant, they with weeping Eyes commended him unto GOD; and he within a Day or two prepar'd himself for his Journey, leaving his Cure with a godly old Priest, named Sir *Richard Yeoman*; who afterwards, for GOD's Truth was burnt at *Norwich*.

THERE was also in *Hadley*, one *Alcock*, a very godly Man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, (who after Sir *Richard Yeoman* was driven away) used daily to read a Chapter, and to say the *English Litany* in *Hadley Church*. But they fetch'd him up to *London*, and cast him into *Newgate*; where, after a Year's Imprisonment, he died.

DR. *Taylor*, being accompany'd with a Servant of his own, named *John Hull*, took his Journey towards *London*. By the Way, *Hull* labour'd to per-

persuade him to fly, and proffered himself to go with him, and venture his Life for him.

BUT Dr. *Taylor* would in no wise consent, but said: *Oh, John! shall I leave my Flock in this Danger? Remember the good Shepherd, Christ, which not only fed his Flock, but also died for his Flock. Him must I follow, and with GOD's Grace will do; therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any Time, comfort me, and discourage me not.*

THUS they came up to *London*, and shortly after Dr. *Taylor* presented himself to the Bishop of *Winchester*.

WHEN *Gardiner* saw Dr. *Taylor*, according to his common Custom, he reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretick, with many other Reproaches; which Dr. *Taylor* heard patiently, and at last said unto him: My Lord, I am neither Traitor nor Heretick, but a true Subject, and a faithful Christian Man, and am come, according to your Commandment, to know what is the Cause that your Lordship hath sent for me.

THEN said the Bishop: Art thou come, thou Villain? How darest thou look me in the Face for Shame? Knowest thou not who I am?

YES, said Dr. *Taylor*, I know who you are. You are Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a mortal Man I trow. But if I should be afraid of you, why fear you not GOD, the LORD of us all? How dare you for Shame look any Christian Man in the Face, seeing you have forsaken the Truth, denied our Saviour *Christ* and his Word, and done contrary to your own Oath and Writings? With what Coun-

Countenance will you appear before the Judgment Seat of *Christ*, and answer to your Oath made first unto King HENRY VIII. and afterward unto blessed King EDWARD.

THE Bishop answered: Tush, tush, that was *Herod's* Oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: And I thank GOD, I am come Home again to our Mother the Church of *Rome*, and so I would thou shouldst do.

DR. TAYLOR answer'd: Should I forsake the Church of *Christ*, which is founded upon the true Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, to approve those Lies, Superstitions and Idolatries, that the Popes and their Company so blasphemously do approve? Nay, GOD forbid. Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour *Christ* and his Word, and thrust out of the Church those abominable Idolatries, and then will Christian Men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I TELL thee, said the Bishop, it was *Herod's* Oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken: And our holy Father the Pope hath discharged me of it.

THEN said Dr. Taylor: But you shall not be so discharged before *Christ*, who doubtless will require it at your Hands, as a lawful Oath made to our Sovereign Lord the King, from whose Obedience no Man can absolve you.

I SEE, said the Bishop, thou art an arrogant Knave, and a very Fool.

MY Lord, said Dr. Taylor, leave your Railing, which is not seemly for one in Authority as you are.

are. You know, that *he that saith to his Brother, Racha, is in Danger of the Council; and he that saith, Thou Fool, is in Danger of Hell Fire.*

THE Bishop answer'd: You are Liars all the Sort of you. Nay, said Dr. *Taylor*, we are true Men, and know that it is written, *The Mouth that speaketh Lies, slayeth the Soul*: And again; *Thou shalt destroy all that speak Lies.* And therefore we abide by the Truth of God's Word, which ye, contrary to your own Consciences, forsake.

THOU art married, said the Bishop. Yea, said Dr. *Taylor*, I thank God I am, and have had nine Children; and blessed be God that ordained Matrimony, and commanded that every Man, that hath not the Gift of Continency, should Marry, and not live in Adultery or Whoredom.

THEN said the Bishop: Thou hast resisted the Queen's Proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the Parson to say Mass in *Hadley*. Dr. *Taylor* answered: My Lord, I am Parson of *Hadley*; and it is against all Right and Law, that any Man should come into my Charge, and presume to infect the Flock committed unto me.

WITH that the Bishop grew very angry, and said: Thou art a blasphemous Heretick, that blasphemest the blessed Sacrament (and put off his Cap). Dr. *Taylor* answer'd: Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed Sacrament which *Christ* instituted; but I reverence it as a true Christian Man ought to do, and confess, That *Christ* ordained the holy Communion in the Remembrance of his Death and Passion, which when we keep according to his Ordinance, we (*through Faith*) eat the Body of *Christ*, and drink his Blood.

THOU

THOU sayest well (quoth the Bishop). It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. Then answered Dr. *Taylor*: CHRIST gave Himself to die for our Redemption upon the Cross, whose Body there offered was the Propitiatory Sacrifice full, perfect, and sufficient for all them that believe in Him. And this Sacrifice did our Saviour *Christ* offer in his own Person Himself once for All; neither can any Priest any more offer him; nor need we any more Propitiatory Sacrifice; and therefore I say with *Chrysostom*, and all the Doctors: Our Sacrifice is only commemorative, a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving; and therefore the Fathers called it, *Eucharistia*: And other Sacrifice hath the Church of GOD none.

IT is true, said the Bishop, the Sacrament is called *Eucharistia*, a Thanksgiving; and it is also a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead; which thou shalt confess e'er thou and I have done. Then the Bishop called his Men, and said: Have this Fellow hence, and carry him to the *King's-Bench*, and charge the Keeper that he be straitly kept.

THEN Dr. *Taylor* kneeled down, and holding up his Hands, said: *Good LORD, I thank Thee; and from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Idolatries, and Abominations, good LORD deliver us.* So they carried him to the *King's-Bench* Prison, where he was confined almost two Years.

BEING in Prison, Dr. *Taylor* spent all his Time in Prayer, Reading the Holy Scriptures, Writing, Preaching, and exhorting the Prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to Repentance and Amendment of Life.

WITHIN

WITHIN a few Days divers other learned and godly Men, in sundry Counties of *England*, were committed to Prison, so that almost all the Prisons in *England* were become Christian Schools and Churches; and there was no greater Comfort for Christian Hearts, than to come to the Prisons to behold their virtuous Conversation, and to hear their Prayers, Preachings, Exhortations, and Consolations.

WHEN Dr. *Taylor* was come into the *King's-Bench*, he found there Mr. *Bradford*, whom he began to exhort to Faith and Patience, and to persevere constant unto the End. Mr. *Bradford* hearing this, thanked GOD that He had provided him such a comfortable Fellow-prisoner: and so they both together praised GOD, and continued in Prayer, Reading, and Exhorting one another: Inso-much that Dr. *Taylor* told his Friends that came to visit him, that GOD had most graciously provided for him, in sending him to that Prison where he found such an Angel of GOD to be in his Company to comfort him.

AFTER he had lain in Prison a while, he was cited to appear at *Bow Church*, where he alledged many Laws and Constitutions for himself, but all availed not; for he was again carried into Prison, and his Livings taken away.

AFTER a Year and three Quarters, in which Time the Papists got certain old tyrannous Laws, which were put down by King HENRY VIII. and King EDWARD, to be again revived by Parliament; so that now they might, *Ex Officio*, cite whom they would, upon their own Suspicion, and charge him with what Articles they listed, and except they in all Things agreed to their Purpose, burn them. When these Laws were once establish-

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ed, they convened Dr. *Taylor* before the Chancellor and other Commissioners, on the 22d of *January*. The Talk between them is described by himself in his Letter to a Friend, as followeth :

WHEREAS you would have me write the Talk between the King and Queen's most Honourable Council and me, on *Tuesday* the 22d of *January*, so far as I remember : First, my Lord Chancellor said : You, among others, are at this present Time sent for, to enjoy the King and Queen's Majesties Favour and Mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the Fall which we have received. I answered : So to rise, would be the greatest Fall that ever I could receive : For I should so fall from my dear Saviour CHRIST to Antichrist. For I do believe, that the Religion set forth in King EDWARD's Days, was according to the Holy Scripture, from which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by God's Grace.

✓ THEN Mr. Secretary *Bourn* said : Which of the Religions mean you in King EDWARD's Days ? For you know there were divers Books of Religion set forth in his Days.

I answer'd : There was set forth by the most innocent King EDWARD, the whole Church Service, with great Deliberation, and the Advice of the best learned Men in the Realm, and authorised by the whole Parliament, which Book was never reformed but once, and by that one Reformation it was fully perfected, according to the Rules of our Christian Religion : I mean that Book.

THEN my Lord Chancellor said : Didst thou never read the Book that I set forth of the Sacrament ? I answered, that I had read it.

THEN

THEN he said: How likest thou that Book? With that one of the Council (whose Name I know not) said: My Lord, that is a good Question; for I am sure, that Book stoppeth all their Mouths. Then said I: My Lord, I think many Things be far wide from God's Word in that Book.

THEN my Lord said: Thou art a very Varlet. To that I answer'd: That is as ill as *Racha*. Then my Lord said: Thou art an ignorant Beetle-brow.

To that I answer'd: I have read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and St. *Augustine's* Works through, St. *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, with divers other Books; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the Civil Laws, as your Lordship did, and I have read over the *Canon Law* also.

THEN my Lord said: With a corrupt Judgment thou readest all Things: I have written divers Books. Then said I: My Lord, you did write one Book, *De Verâ Obedientiâ*; I would you had been constant in that: For indeed you never did declare a good Conscience that I heard of, but in that one Book.

THEN my Lord said: Tut, tut, tut, I wrote against Priests Marriages: but such Books please not such Wretches as thou art, who hast been married many Years.

I answered: I am married indeed, and I have had nine Children in holy Matrimony, I thank God: And this I am sure of, that your Proceedings at this present against Priests Marriages, is the Maintenance of the Doctrine of Devils, against

Natural Law, Civil Law, Canon Law, General Councils, Canons of the Apostles, antient Doctors, and GOD's Laws.

THEN spoke my Lord of *Durham*: You have professed the Civil Law! then you know that *Justinian* writeth, that Priests should, at their Taking of Orders, swear that they were never married.

I answered: That I did not remember any such Law of *Justinian*. But I am sure that *Justinian* writeth, That if one would bequeath to his Wife a Legacy, under a Condition that she should never marry again, and take an Oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid Conditions.

THEN my Lord Chancellor said: Thou sayest that Priests may be married by GOD's Law. How provest thou that?

I answer'd: By the plain Words of St. *Paul*, both to *Timothy* and to *Titus*, where he speaks most evidently of the Marriage of Priests, Deacons and Bishops. And *Chrysostom* writing upon the Epistle to *Timothy*, saith: *It is an Heresy to say, that a Bishop may not be married.*

THEN said my Lord Chancellor: Thou believest *Chrysostom*. But thou dost, as all thy Companions do, belie both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Didst thou not also say, That by the Canon Law Priests may be married? which is most untrue.

I answer'd: We read in the Decrees, that the four general Councils have the same Authority that the four Evangelists have. And we read in the same Decrees (which is one of the chief Books of the Canon Law) that the Council of *Nice* did al-

low

low Priests and Bishops Marriages: Therefore by the best Part of the Canon Law Priests may be married.

THEN my Lord Chancellor said: Thou falsifiest the Council. For there is Mention in the said Decree, that Priests should be divorced from their Wives.

THEN said I: if those Words be there, I am content to lose this great Head of mine. Let the Book be fetch'd.

THEN spake my Lord of *Durham*: Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Eusebius*, out of which Book the Decree was taken.

To that, said I: It is not likely the Pope would leave out any such Sentence, making so much for his Purpose.

THEN my Lord Chancellor said: *Gratian* was but a Patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a Patch as maketh for thy Purpose.

I answer'd: My Lord, I cannot but marvel that you call one of the chief Papists that ever was, but a Patcher.

THEN my Lord Chancellor said: Nay, I call thee a Snatcher and Patcher. To make an End, Wilt thou not return to the Catholick Church? And with that he rose.

AND I said: By GOD's Grace, I never will depart from *Christ's* Church. Then I required that I might have some of my Friends to come to me in Prison. And my Lord Chancellor said: Thou

shalt have Judgment within this Week. And so I was delivered again unto my Keeper.

ON the 31st of *January*, Dr. *Taylor*, (together with Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Sanders*) was again called to appear before the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Norwich*, *London*, *Salisbury*, and *Durham*; and a determinate Answer was required; Whether they would abjure their Errors? or else they would proceed to their Condemnation.

WHEN Dr. *Taylor* and his Fellows heard this, they answer'd boldly: That they would not depart from the Truth which they had preached, neither would they submit to the *Romish* Antichrist; but they thanked GOD for so great Mercy, that he would call them to suffer for his Word and Truth.

WHEN the Bishops saw them so constantly fixed in the Truth, they read the Sentence of Death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave GOD Thanks, and said unto the Bishops: *We doubt not, but GOD the Righteous Judge will require our Blood at your Hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this your Tyranny, that ye now shew against the Flock of Christ.*

THE Keeper of the Prison had then Charge of him, and brought him towards the Prison, the People flocking about to gaze upon him: Unto whom he said: GOD be praised (good People) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the Truth with my Blood. He was bestowed in the Clink 'till towards Night, and then removed to the Compter.

THE 4th Day of *February*, Bonner came to the Compter to degrade him. Dr. *Taylor* was brought down to Bonner: And at his coming, the Bishop said; Mr. Doctor, I would you would remember yourself,

yourself, and turn to your Mother Holy Church: I will sue for your Pardon. Whereunto Mr. Taylor answer'd: *I would you and your Fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist.* Well, (quoth the Bishop) I am come to degrade you; wherefore put on those Vestures. (Offering him the Ornaments belonging to the Mass). *No,* (quoth Dr. Taylor) *I will not.* Wilt thou not, (said the Bishop) I shall make thee e're I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor: *You shall not, by the Grace of GOD.* Then he charg'd him upon his Obedience to do it; but he would not.

So he willed another to put them upon his Back, and when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his Hands to his Side, walking up and down, and said: *How say you, my Lord, am not I a goodly Fool? How say you, my Masters? If I were in Cheapside, should I not have Boys enough to laugh at these apish Toys?* So the Bishop scraped his Fingers, Thumbs, and the Crown of his Head, and did the Rest of their Observances.

AT the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a Stroke on the Breast with his Crozier-Staff, the Bishop's Chaplain said: My Lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again. *Yea,* (quoth Dr. Taylor) *The Cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's Quarrel.* So the Bishop laid his Curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said: *Tho' you do curse me, yet GOD doth bless me. I have the Witness of my Conscience, that ye have done me Wrong: and yet I pray GOD, if it be his Will, forgive you. But from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable Enormities, good LORD deliver us.* And in going up to his Chamber, he still said: *GOD deliver me from you. GOD deliver me from you.* And when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford, (for they both

both lay in one Chamber) that he had made the Bishop of *London* afraid; for, (saith he) his Chaplain gave him Counsel not to strike me with his Crozier-Staff, for that I would strike him again; and, by my Troth, (saide he, rubbing his Hands) I made him believe I would do so indeed.

THE Night after he was degraded, his Wife and his Son were, by the Gentleness of the Keepers, permitted to sup with him. (For this Difference was ever found between the Keepers of the Bishops Prisons, and the Keeper's of the King's Prisons: That the Bishops Keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous like their Masters: But the Keepers of the King's Prisons shewed, for the most Part, as much Favour as they possibly might.) So Dr. *Taylor's* Wife, his Son, and *John Hull* his Servant, came to sup with him; and at their coming in before Supper, they kneeled down and prayed.

AFTER Supper, walking up and down, he gave GOD Thanks for his Grace, that had called him, and given him Strength to abide by his Holy Word: and turning to his Son *Thomas*, *My dear Son* (saide he) *Almighty GOD bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true Servant of Christ, to learn his Word, and constantly to stand by his Truth all thy Life long. And, my Son, see that thou fear GOD always. Flee from all Sin; be vertuous, serve GOD with daily Prayer, and apply thy Book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy Mother, love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy Youth, and follow her good Counsel in all Things. Beware of young Men that fear not GOD, but follow vain Appetites. Fly from Whoredom, and hate all filthy Living, remembering, that I thy Father do die in Defence of holy Marriage. Another Day, when GOD shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor People, and count that thy chief Riches is, to be rich in Alms; and when thy*
Mother

Mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy Power: For so will GOD bless thee, and give thee long Life upon Earth and Prosperity; which I pray GOD to grant thee.

THEN turning to his Wife, *My dear Wife* (quoth he) *continue stedfast in the Fear and Love of GOD; keep yourself undefiled from Popish Idolatries and Superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful Yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for which I pray GOD to reward you, and doubt not, dear Wife, but GOD will reward it.*

NOW the Time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the Wedlock-Bond towards me; therefore I will give you my Counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a Child-bearing Woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient Stay for our poor Children, nor out of Trouble 'till you be married. Therefore as soon as GOD will provide it, marry with some honest faithful Man that feareth GOD. Doubt you not, GOD will provide an honest Husband for you, and He will be a merciful Father to you and to my Children; whom, I pray you, bring up in the Fear of GOD, and in Learning to the utmost of your Power, and keep them from Romish Idolatry. When he had thus said, they with Tears prayed together, and kissed one the other; and he gave his Wife a Book of the Church-Service, set out by King Edward, which in the Time of his Imprisonment he daily used. And unto his Son Thomas he gave a Latin Book, containing the Sayings of the old Martyrs; and in the End of that Book, he wrote as followeth:

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.

I SAY to my Wife and to my Children; the LORD gave you unto me, and the LORD hath taken me from you, and you from me; blessed be the Name of the LORD. I believe that they are blessed which die in the LORD. GOD careth for Sparrows, and for the Hairs of our Heads. I have ever found Him more faithful than any Father or Husband. Trust ye therefore in Him thro' our Saviour CHRIST's Merits: Believe, love, fear and obey Him: Pray to Him, for He hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long Home. I go to the rest of my Children, *Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary*: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

I SAY to my dear Friends of *Hadley*, and to all others which have heard me preach, that I depart hence with a quiet Conscience, as touching my Doctrine; for which, I pray you, thank GOD with me. For I have, after my little Talent, declared to others those Lessons that I gather'd out of GOD's Book. Therefore if I, or an Angel from Heaven, should preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have receiv'd, GOD's great Curse upon that Preacher.

BEWARE, for GOD's Sake, that ye deny not GOD, neither decline from the Word of Faith, lest GOD decline from you, and so you everlastingly perish.

The LORD grant all Men his Holy Spirit, Increase of his Wisdom, Contemning the wicked
World,

World, hearty Desire to be with GOD and the Heavenly Company, thro' JESUS CHRIST, our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteousness, Life, Sanctification, and Hope. *Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.*

ROWLAND TAYLOR *departing hence in sure Hope, without all doubting of Eternal Salvation, I thank GOD my Heavenly Father, through JESUS CHRIST my certain Saviour. Amen.*

February the 5th, 1555.

The LORD is my Light and my Salvation: Whom then shall I fear? Psal. xxvii.

GOD is He that justifieth: Who is he that condemneth? Rom. viii.

In Thee, O LORD, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Psal. xxx.

ON the Morrow (the 5th of February) the Sheriff of London with his Officers, came to the Compter by Two o'Clock in the Morning, and so bro't forth Dr. Taylor, and without any Light led him to the Woolpack, an Inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's Wife, suspecting that her Husband would that Night be carried away, watched all Night in St. Botolph's Church-Porch beside Aldgate, having with her two Children, the one named Elizabeth, of 13 Years of Age (who being left without Father or Mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of Alms from three Years old) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own Daughter.

WHEN the Sheriff came over-against St. Botolph's Church, Elizabeth cried, O my dear Father! Mother! Mother! here is my Father led away!

away! Then cried his Wife, *Rowland! Rowland!* where art thou? for it was so dark a Morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. *Taylor* answer'd: Dear Wife, I am here; and stay-ed. The Sheriffs Men would have led him forth; but the Sheriffs said, Stay a little, Master, I pray you, and let him speak to his Wife.

THEN came she to him; when he took his Daughter *Mary* in his Arms: and he, his Wife and *Elizabeth*, kneeled down to Prayer. At which Sight the Sheriff wept a-pace; and so did divers of the Company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his Wife, and shook her by the Hand, and said, Farewell, my dear Wife, be of good Comfort, for I am quiet in my Conscience. God shall raise up a Father for my Children. And then he kissed his Daughter *Mary*, and said, God bless thee and make thee his Servant: and kissing *Elizabeth*, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto *Christ* and his Word, and keep from Idolatry. Then said his Wife, God be with thee, dear *Rowland*: I will, with God's Grace, meet thee at *Hadley*.

HE was then led forth to the *Woolpack*, and his Wife followed him. As soon as they came to the *Woolpack*, he was put into a Chamber, wherein he was kept with four Yeomen of the Guard and Sheriffs Men. Dr. *Taylor*, as soon as he was come into the Chamber, fell down on his Knees, and gave himself wholly to Prayer. The Sheriff, seeing Dr. *Taylor's* Wife there, would in no Case grant her to speak any more with her Husband, but gently desir'd her to go to his House, and take it as her own; and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desir'd to go to her Mother's, whither the Officers led her, charging her

her Mother to keep her there till they came again.

THUS Dr. *Taylor* remained at the *Woolpack*, 'till Eleven o'Clock. At which Time the Sheriff of *Essex* was ready to receive him: and so they set him on Horse-back within the Inn, the Gates being shut.

AT the coming out of the Gates, *John Hull* stood at the Rails with Dr. *Taylor's* Son, *Thomas*. When Dr. *Taylor* saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither, my Son *Thomas*. And *Hull* lifted the Child up, and sat him on the Horse before his Father: and Dr. *Taylor* put off his Hat, and said to the People that stood looking on him, *Good People, this is mine own Son, begotten in lawful Matrimony: And GOD be praised for Lawful Matrimony.* Then lifted he up his Eyes towards Heaven, and prayed for his Son, laid his Hat upon the Child's Head, and blessed him; and so delivered him to *Hull*, whom he took by the Hand, and said, *Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest Servant that ever Man had.* And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of *Essex*, with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriff's Men leading him.

WHEN they were come almost to *Burntwood*, one *Arthur Fayfie*, a Man of *Hadley*, who before had been Dr. *Taylor's* Servant, met them; and he, supposing him to have been at Liberty, said, Mr. Doctor, I am glad to see you again at Liberty; and came to him and took him by the Hand. Soft, Sir, said the Sheriff, he is a Prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry your Mercy, said *Arthur*, I knew not so much, and I thought it no Offence to talk to a good Man. The Sheriff was very angry with this, and threatned to carry *Arthur* with him to Prison; notwithstanding, he

bade him get quickly away; and so rode forth to *Burntwood*: where they caused a close Hood to be made for Dr. *Taylor*, with two Holes for his Eyes, and a Slit for his Mouth. This they did, that no Man should know him, nor he speak to any One. Which Practice they used also with others. Their own Consciences told them, that they led innocent Lambs to the Slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the People should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly Exhortations, to stand stedfast in God's Word, and to fly the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Papacy.

ALL the Way Dr. *Taylor* was joyful and merry, as one going to a Banquet or Bridall. He spake many Things to the Sheriff and Yeomen of the Guard, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their wicked Lives. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoyce, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all Fear, joyful in Heart, and glad to die. Of these Yeomen of the Guard, three used Dr. *Taylor* well, but the fourth (whose Name was *Holmes*) used him very unkindly and churlishly.

AT *Chelmsford* the Sheriff of *Suffolk* met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into *Suffolk*. And being at Supper, the Sheriff of *Essex* said: Good Mr. Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the Loss is of such a one as you might be. God hath given you great Learning and Wisdom, wherefore you have been in great Favour in Times past with the highest of this Realm. Besides this, you are a Man of goodly Personage, in your best Strength, and by Nature like to live many Years; and without doubt you would in Time to come be in as good Reputation

as

as ever you were, or rather better: For you are well beloved by all Men, as well for your Virtues as your Learning; and methinks it were great Pity you should cast yourself away: You would do much better to return to the Catholick Church; and I and all these your Friends will be Suitors for your Pardon. This Council I give you, good Mr. Doctor, of a good Heart and Good-will toward you; and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the Yoemen of the Guard: Upon that Condition, Mr. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

WHEN they had all drank to him, and the Cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what Answer he might give. At the last he said: Mr. Sheriff, and my Masters all, I heartily thank you for your Good-will, I have hearkened to your Words, and marked well your Counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived my self, and am like to deceive a great many of *Hadley* of their Expectation. With that Word they all rejoiced. Yea, good Mr. Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, God's Blessing on your Heart; hold you there still. It is the comfortablest Word that we have heard you speak yet. What! should you cast away your self in vain? Play a wise Man's Part, and, I dare warrant it, you shall find Favour. But what meant you by this, that you say you think you have been deceived your self, and think you shall deceive many one in *Hadley*? Would ye know my Meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea, said the Sheriff, tell it us plainly.

THEN said Dr. Taylor: I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a Man that hath a very great Carcass, which I thought would have been buried in *Hadley* Church-yard; but herein I

fee I was deceived: And there are a great Number of Worms in *Hadley* Church-yard, which would have had jolly Feeding upon this Carrion, which they have looked for many a Day. But now I know both I and they are deceived; for this Carcase must be burt to Ashes.

WHEN the Sheriff and his Company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the Man's constant Mind, that thus without all Fear made but a Jest at Death.

BEING delivered to the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, they conducted him on the Way to *Hadley*. When they were come to *Lanham*, the Sheriff stayed there two Days; and thither came to him a great Number of Gentlemen and Justices, who were all appointed to aid the Sheriff. These Gentlemen laboured with Dr. *Taylor* to reduce him to the *Romish* Religion, promising him his Pardon, which, said they, we have for you. They promised him also a Bishoprick; but all their Labour was in vain. For he abode constant and unmoveable.

AFTER two Days, the Sheriff led him on; and coming within two Miles of *Hadley*, he desired to light off his Horse to make Water: which done, he leapt cheerfully, and gave a Frisk or Twain, as Men commonly do in Dancing. Why Mr. Doctor, said the Sheriff, how do you now? He answered: Well; GOD be praised, good Mr. Sheriff. Never better: for now I know I am almost at Home. I lack not past two Stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's House. But Mr. Sheriff, said he, shall we not go through *Hadley*? Yes, said the Sheriff. Then said he, O good LORD, I thank Thee, I shall yet once e'er I die see my Flock, whom Thou knowest I have most heartily loved, and
truly

truly taught. Good LORD bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy Word and Truth.

WHEN they were come to *Hadley*, as they were riding over the Bridge, a poor Man with his five small Children, when they saw Dr. Taylor, fell upon their Knees, and held up their Hands, and the Man cried with a loud Voice, *O dear Father and good Shepherd, Dr. Taylor, GOD help and succour thee, as thou hast many a Time succour'd me and my poor Children.* The Sheriff, and others that led him, were astonied at this: and the Sheriff sorely rebuked the poor Man for so crying. The Streets of *Hadley* were crowded on both Sides the Way with Men and Women of the Town and Country, who waited to see him: whom when they beheld so led to Death, with weeping Eyes and lamentable Voices they cried one to another, *Ah, good LORD! there goeth our good Shepherd from us, that taught us so Faithfully; so Fatherly cared for us, and so Godly governed us. O merciful GOD! what shall we, poor scattered Lambs do? What will become of this wicked World? Good LORD, strengthen him, and comfort him.* Wherefore the People were sorely rebuked by the Sheriff and his Men. Whilst Dr. Taylor continually said to the People, *I have preached to you GOD's Word and Truth, and am come this Day to seal it with my Blood.*

COMING against the Alms-Houses, which he well knew, he cast Money to the poor People, which remained of that, which good People had given him in Time of his Imprisonment. This he kept in his Glove, and distributed it as he went. Coming to the last of the Alms-Houses, and not seeing the Poor that dwelt there, ready at their Doors, as the others were, he asked: *Is the blind Man and blind Woman, that dwelt here, alive?* It was answered, Yea, they are within. Then

threw he Glove and all in at the Window, and so rode on.

THUS this Father of the Poor took his Leave of those, for whom all his Life he had a singular Care. For this was his Custom, once in a Fortnight at least, to call upon Sir *Anthony Doyl*, and other rich Clothiers, to go with him to the Alms-Houses, and there to see how the Poor lived; what they lacked in Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Bedding, or other Necessaries. The like did he also to other poor Men that had many Children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found Cause, rebuke the Unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his Power: and what he was not able, he caused the wealthy Men to minister unto them.

AT last, coming to *Aldham Common*, and seeing a great Multitude of People gathered thither, he asked, What Place is this, and what meaneth it that so much People are gathered hither? It was answered, It is *Aldham Common*, the Place where you are to suffer: and the People are come to look upon you. Then said he, *God be thanked I am even at Home*; and so alighting from his Horse, with both Hands he rent the Hood from his Head.

HIS Head was knotted, ill favouredly, and clipped as a Man would clip a Fool's Head; which *Coft Bonner* had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. When the People saw his reverend and ancient Face, with a long white Beard, they burst out with Tears, and cried, *God save thee, good Dr. Taylor. Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee: The Holy Ghost comfort thee.* Then would he have spoken to the People, but the Yeomen of the Guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he

he opened his Mouth, one or other thrust a Tip-staff into his Mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

THEN desired he Licence of the Sheriff to speak; but the Sheriff denied it, and bad him remember his Promise to the Council.

WELL, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, Promise must be kept. What this Promise was, it is unknown; but the common Fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Council sent for them, and threatned they would cut their Tongues out, except they would promise, that at their Deaths they would not speak to the People: For they feared lest any Tumult or Uproar might have been stirred up, the People having so just a Cause not to be contented with their Doings. But Thanks be to GOD, which gave to his Witnessess Faith and Patience, with manly Hearts, to despise all Torments: Neither was there so much as any one Man that once shewed any Sign of Disobedience towards the Magistrates. They shed their Blood gladly in the Defence of the Truth, so leaving Example unto all Men of true and perfect Obedience: Which is to obey GOD more than Men, and if Need require it, to shed their own Blood rather than to depart from GOD's Truth.

DR. TAYLOR perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named *Soyce*, he called him, and said: *Soyce*, I pray thee come and pull off my Boots, and take them for thy Labour. Then he rose up, and put off his Cloathes unto his Shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud Voice: *Good People, I have taught you Nothing but GOD's Holy Word, and those Lessons that I have taken out of*
GOD's

GOD's Blessed Book; and I am come hither this Day to seal it with my Blood. With that Word Holmes, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the Way, gave him a great Stroke upon the Head, and said: *Is that the Keeping of thy Promise, thou Heretick?* Then he kneeled down and prayed, and a poor Woman that was among the People stepped in and prayed with him; but they thrust her away, and threatned to tread her down with Horses; notwithstanding which she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the Stake, and kissed it, and set himself in a Pitch-Barrel, which they had placed for him to stand in, and so stood with his Back upright against the Stake, with his Hands folded together, and his Eyes toward Heaven.

THEN they bound him with Chains, and the Sheriff called one *Richard Donningham*, a Butcher, and commanded him to set up the Faggots: But he refused to do it, and said: *I am lame, Sir, and not able to lift a Faggot.* The Sheriff threatned to send him to Prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

THEN he appointed one *Warwick*, and three others, to set up the Faggots, and make the Fire, which they did most diligently; and *Warwick* cast a Faggot at him, which light upon his Head, and broke his Face, that the Blood ran down his Visage. Then said Dr. Taylor: *O Friend, I have Harm enough, what needed that?*

FURTHERMORE, Sir *John Shelton* standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the 51st Psalm in *English*, struck him on the Lips: *You Knave* (said he) *I will make thee speak Latin.* At the last they set to the Fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding
ing

ing up both his Hands, called upon GOD, and said : *Merciful Father of Heaven, for Jesus Christ, my Saviour's Sake, receive my Soul into thy Hands.* So he stood still, without either crying or moving, with his Hands folded together, 'till Soyce with a Halberd struck him on the Head, so that the Brains fell out, and the dead Corps fell down into the Fire. *February 9, 1555.*





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